

THE SERAGLIO OCTATEUCH AND THE KOKKINOBAFOS MASTER

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The illustrated Octateuchs enjoy a special place in Byzantine art history. In large part, this is due to their great influence on modern conceptions of the taste of Byzantine patrons and of the role of Eastern society in the preservation of certain aspects of ancient culture. Five manuscripts are known: Smyrna, Evangelical School Library, cod. A.I (now destroyed);¹ Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8;² Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codd. gr. 746³ and gr. 747;⁴ and Mt. Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 602.⁵ With a cycle of miniatures numbering well over three hundred, they are heavily illustrated books by any standard. In addition, they contain dense scholia; some have a preface, occasionally illustrated, that relates how the text came to be translated at Alexandria in the third century before our era. The individual miniatures of the five Octateuchs, though they range in date over nearly two centuries, vary remarkably little from

one manuscript to the next. The cycle of scenes existed already in tenth-century Byzantium, as attested by the Joshua Roll (Vat. Pal. gr. 431),⁶ but the earliest preserved Octateuchs are, I believe, those of the close-knit group to which the Istanbul manuscript, the *Seragliensis*, belongs.⁷ The primary object of this paper is to establish how the Seraglio Octateuch was made. A full account of this question will necessarily touch upon Vat. gr. 746 and the Smyrna Octateuch as well, for emerging from an examination of the *Seragliensis* is the identity of a major figure in twelfth-century Byzantine paint-

¹A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς (Smyrna, 1877), 4; miniatures completely published by D.-C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, *Codices graeci et latini*, Suppl. VI (Leiden, 1909) (hereafter Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*).

²G. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933), 46–56; the miniature cycle has been largely, but not completely, published by Th. Uspenskij, “L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople,” *IRAIK*, 12 (1907) (hereafter Uspenskij, “L'Octateuque du Sérail”).

³R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, III, *Codices 604–866* (Vatican City, 1950), 261–62; the miniature cycle is unpublished in its entirety. For bibliography, see P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ST, 261 (Vatican City, 1970), 478–79.

⁴Devreesse, *op. cit.*, 263; the miniature cycle is unpublished in its entirety. For bibliography, see Canart and Peri, *op. cit.*, 479–80.

⁵S. Eustratiades and Arcadios Vatopedinos, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theol. St., 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 118–19; the miniature cycle in the surviving second half of the manuscript has been completely published by P. Huber, *Bild und Botschaft, Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (Zurich-Freiburg i.B., 1973), 19–164, figs. 1–164.

⁶H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Vatican City, 1885), 279; for bibliographic references, see Canart and Peri, *op. cit.*, 286. The manuscript has been published in facsimile: *Il Rotulo di Giosuè, Codice palatino greco 431* (Milan, 1905); in addition see K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, III (Princeton, 1948) (hereafter Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*).

⁷I do not ignore the Vat. gr. 747, which, since its discovery and publication by N. Kondakov (*Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, II [Paris, 1886], 76), has been universally attributed to the eleventh century, and thus cited as the earliest preserved Octateuch. The miniature cycle, as noted by I. Hutter (“Paläologische Übermalungen im Oktateuch Vaticanus graecus 747,” *JÖBG*, 21 [1972] [= *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 60. Geburtstag*], 139–47), has been restored; nevertheless, I believe that the manuscript was made around the middle or third quarter of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, its nearest relative stylistically seems to be another Octateuch, that with an abbreviated miniature cycle in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 5.38 (A. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae varia continens opera Graecorum Patrum*. . . [Florence, 1764], 69–70; miniatures published by J. Lassus, “La création du monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle,” *MonPiot*, 62 [1979], pl. 2e and figs. on pp. 95, 106, 125, 139. See also M. Bernabò, “Considerazioni sul manoscritto Laurenziano Plut. 5.38 e sulle miniature della *Genesi* degli Ottateuchi bizantini,” *AnnPisa*, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, ser. 3, 8 [1978], 135–57, who takes the date to be eleventh century). The question of the date of the Vat. gr. 747 cannot be taken up here, nor can the problems that arise owing to the similarity or dissimilarity of its miniatures with those in twelfth-century Octateuchs. It is my feeling that in many cases its illuminator is less faithful to his model than any of the twelfth-century painters.

ing, one who played a particular role in the illumination of two of the manuscripts and whose influence is apparent in the third. The second focus of the study is this illuminator, the Kokkinobaphos Master, as I have chosen to call him⁸

When and for whom the Seraglio Octateuch was made are aspects of the same question, which hinges on the identity of the paraphraser of the *Letter of Aristeas*. The text of the paraphrase, on folios 3–9^v, is known only from this manuscript.⁹ At its head is a poorly preserved title inscribed in a rather amateurish carmine uncial. Its editor, Th. Uspenskij, restituted the title to read: “The Preface to the Old (Testament), Lengthy and Obscure, Which Aristeas Set Before Philocrates, Kyr Isaac, Born in the Purple and Son of the Great Emperor Kyr Alexius Comnenus, Reduced to a Shorter and More Lucid Version.”¹⁰ Publishing his findings in 1907, Uspenskij placed the critical name, Isaac, within brackets; yet, curiously, in 1933 G. Deissmann remarked that with effort the name could still be made out.¹¹ Whatever the reason for his reluctance, Uspenskij went on to argue the now accepted identification of the paraphraser as Isaac Sebastocrator, son of Alexius I Comnenus.¹² Isaac’s literary pretensions, clearly expressed by the title of the paraphrase—that he reduced the original to a “more lucid version”—are known through the testimony

⁸This article serves as an introduction to the work of an illuminator whose career will be discussed at length in a forthcoming monograph. The Seraglio Octateuch, on which he collaborated, presents a series of particular problems, many of which, by involving the other Octateuchs, lie outside the scope of a study devoted to this painter. In the summer of 1979 I was able to consult the manuscript, and I would like to acknowledge the help of the director of the Topkapı Sarayı, Mr. Kemal Cig, and the support of the Columbian College of the George Washington University. In the course of preparing this paper I have benefited from my discussions with Dr. John Lowden. Illustrations are published by permission of the respective libraries and collections.

⁹Text published by Uspenskij, “L’Octateuque du Sérail,” 2–14, where it is given as fols. 1–7^v; for discrepancy, see appendix and commentary to gathering A. The paraphrase has yet to be discovered in another manuscript and is not recorded in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Berlin, 1914).

¹⁰Uspenskij, “L’Octateuque du Sérail,” 1. After examining the manuscript I have made some changes in the placement of the editorial symbols. The letters in square brackets are totally illegible and have been restituted after Uspenskij so as to read: τὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς προοίμι(ον) ὅπερ ὁ [Ἀριστέ] | ας πρὸς τὸν φιλοκράτ(ην) ἐκτέθεικ(εν) μακ[ρη] | γορία καὶ ἀσαφεία ὁ δὲ πορφυρο(γέννητος) καὶ ὁ Ἰσαάκιος καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλ(ου) βασιλέως καὶ (ὁ) Ἀλεξί | ου Κομνην(οῦ) εἰς συντομί(αν) μετε(ρ)ῶθημι | (σε) καὶ σαφῆναι(αν).

¹¹*Op. cit.*, 47.

¹²“L’Octateuque du Sérail,” 15–33.

of Theodore Prodromos,¹³ as well as through the Sebastocrator’s donation to the monastery of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira of volumes containing his own compositions: “heroic, iambic and political verse, in addition to letters and ekphraseis.”¹⁴ The style of handwriting in which the paraphrase is written clearly differs from that of the remainder of the manuscript. To Uspenskij the disparity suggested that the paraphrase was actually written by its author.¹⁵ This attribution has lately been questioned by an editor of the *Letter of Aristeas*, who inclines toward a date around the second half of the thirteenth century, long after Isaac’s death.¹⁶

It may never be possible to prove that the handwriting on folios 3–9^v is that of Isaac Sebastocrator; nevertheless, several factors combine to deny the likelihood of this section’s having been written later than the Octateuch itself. The parchment, a fairly heavy material of average preparation, is the same as that of the rest of the manuscript. The ruling pattern of the preface, with its fifty or so lines for text stopping at the vertical guides near the gutter, is clearly related to that in the *Letter of Aristeas* and Octateuch proper (figs. 1a–c). Considering the complex demands of the Octateuch with *catenae*, the rather simple pattern in both parts makes the relationship even stronger,¹⁷ as does the fact that, like the scribe of the Octateuch when he wrote the Septuagint text, the writer of the paraphrase does not use every line.¹⁸ Finally, there is another indication of continuity between the paraphrase and the *Letter*, even if their scribes were different, which seems certainly to have been the case. There are five spaces for miniatures left within the body of the paraphrase (on folios 4, 4^v, 5^v, 7, and 8). The illustration of the *Letter of Aristeas* is likewise unfinished (miniatures on folios 11^v, 21, 22^v, and repair on folio 13^v, where one presumes there was once a miniature even though no offprint appears;¹⁹ spaces

¹³Poem XLII, lines 9–12, ed. W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte*, WByzSt, 11 (Vienna, 1974), 397.

¹⁴L. Petit, “Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d’Aenos (1152),” *IRAIK*, 13 (1908), 69. Further information on the literary activities of the Sebastocrator may be found in E. Kurtz, “Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos,” *BZ*, 16 (1907), 104–7.

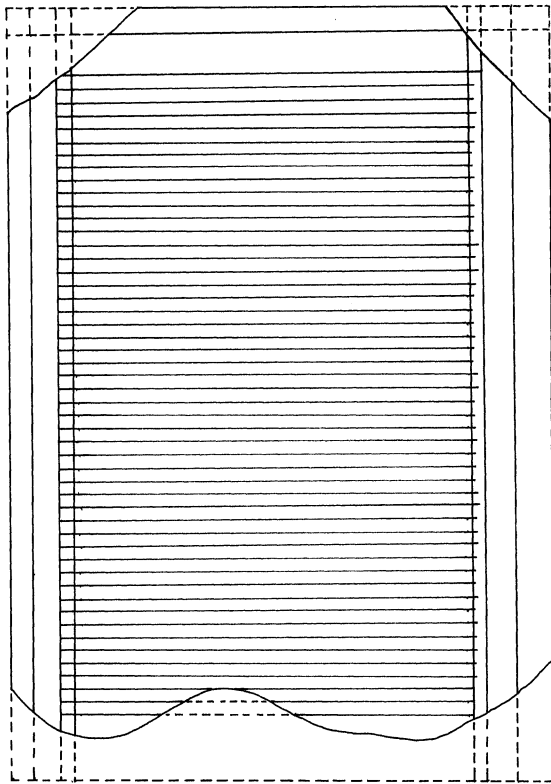
¹⁵“L’Octateuque du Sérail,” 1 and pl. 1, for the reproduction of a page of text.

¹⁶A. Pelletier, *Lettre d’Aristée à Philocrate*, SC, 89 (Paris, 1962), 11.

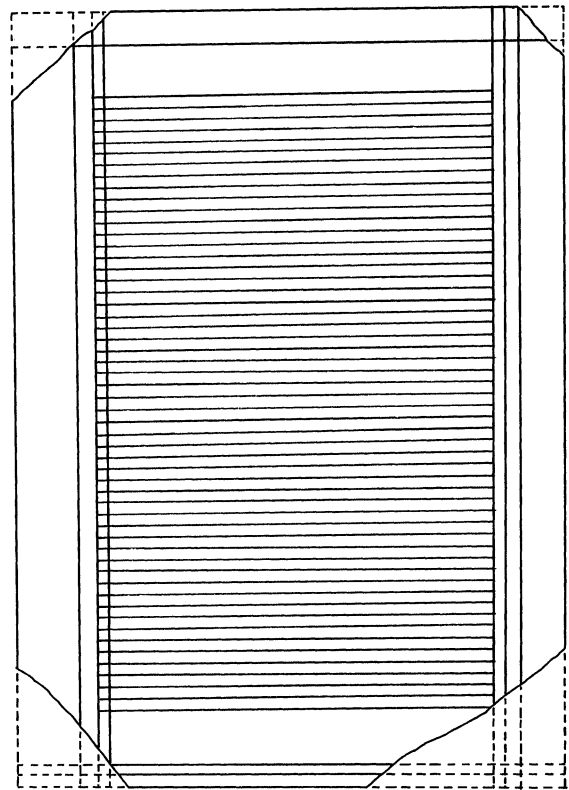
¹⁷For example, contrast the patterns used in the Vat. gr. 746, figs. 11a–b.

¹⁸Pelletier, *loc. cit.*, is particularly troubled by this fact; it is, of course, the similarity in ruling patterns that is important, not how many of the guides the scribe has chosen to use.

¹⁹A reproduction of folio 13 appears *ibid.*, opposite p. 13.

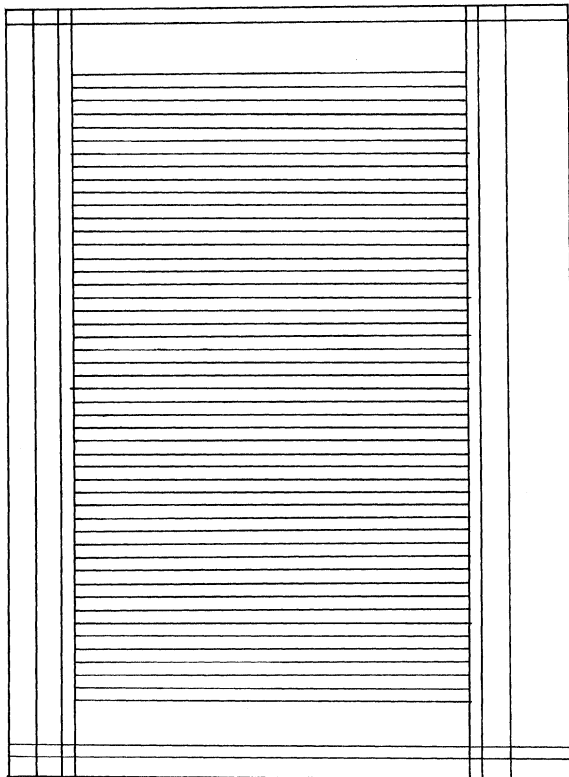


a. Fol. 8, Isaac's Paraphrase of
Letter of Aristeas



b. Fol. 17, *Letter of Aristeas*

I. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8



c. Fol. 190, Septuagint with Commentary

on folios 12^v, 16^v, and 17). Apparently, the illuminators left this work until last, and then never got around to completing it.²⁰ Therefore, the claim that the paraphrase is a later addition of an obscure and redundant text composed sometime in the twelfth century goes in the face of evidence to the contrary and unnecessarily complicates what is, I believe, a simple matter. The composition of this material certainly establishes Isaac's interest in the text and, in particular, the antiquarian aspects of its purported translation and the learned, courtly atmosphere of the Aristeian *Letter*. Furthermore, the existence of the paraphrase in only this manuscript, which can be independently dated around the time of the Sebastocrator's *floruit*, leads almost inescapably to the conclusion that he took a special interest in the Seraglio Octateuch, surely as its patron. Why the style of handwriting of this section is different is not only beyond the bounds of legitimate speculation, but also of little consequence; the appeal of Uspenskij's hypothesis, however, should be clear.

²⁰ Possibly because this was the one series of miniatures that surely required invention.

The time when Isaac most likely would have commissioned the Seraglio Octateuch depends upon biographical information.²¹ Born on 16 January 1093,²² he was the youngest son of Alexius I Comnenus. Although he certainly supported, and was perhaps also instrumental in, his elder brother's succession to the throne in 1118, Isaac was banished from the capital for political agitation in 1122.²³ His exile was apparently not a graceful monastic retreat, but rather consisted of fourteen years of traveling in the East. He is known to have gone to the emir of Melitene, Ghāzī, and then to Mas'ūd, the sultan of Iconium, to enlist support for an attempt to overthrow John II.²⁴ He spent time in Palestine, where he funded construction to ensure the water supply of the monastery of St. John the Baptist;²⁵ and when the reconciliation between John and Isaac took place in 1138 it was after a meeting in Syria.²⁶ Isaac was ceremoniously welcomed back to Constantinople; yet for reasons that are unclear he was again arrested, this time to be imprisoned at Pontic Heraclea.²⁷ When Manuel acceded to the throne in 1143 he ordered his uncle released. From the time of his accompanying Manuel on the campaign to Iconium in 1146,²⁸ the remainder of the Sebastocrator's life is obscure. However, he was still alive in 1152, the date of the *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery which he founded in Thrace.²⁹

²¹ Additional information can be found in Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 101–7; and O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam, 1970), 28–35.

²² A. Každan, "Die Liste der Kinder des Kaiser Alexios I. in einer moskauer Handschrift II4T 53/147)," *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim*, II (Berlin, 1970), 234–36; the text has been republished by P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, CFHB, 12 (Vienna, 1975), I, 55.

²³ Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 102. On the unusually close relationship between the brothers prior to Isaac's banishment, see the report of Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. Van Dieten, CFHB, 11 (Berlin, 1975), I, 8, lines 97–1; for a German translation from the Bonn edition of I. Bekker, see F. Grabler, *Die Krone der Komnenen*, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, 7 (Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1958), 40–41.

²⁴ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), 230; Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, I, 32, lines 38–42 (Grabler, *op. cit.*, 64).

²⁵ Theodore Prodromos, Poem XL, ed. Hörandner (note 13 *supra*), 391–93.

²⁶ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, 31, lines 16–33, line 60 (Grabler, *Die Krone der Komnenen*, 64).

²⁷ John Cinnamus, *Historia*, ed. B. Niebuhr, Bonn ed. (1836), 32, lines 8–11; for an English translation, see C. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos* (New York, 1976), 34.

²⁸ John Cinnamus, *Historia*, 53 (Brand, *op. cit.*, 49).

²⁹ Petit, *op. cit.*, (note 14 *supra*), 19. The church and some architectural fragments survive; see A. Orlandos, *Tὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Βῆρας*, in *Θρακικά*, 4 (1933), 1–34.

Sparse though the information may be, it still helps to establish a usefully precise period of time for the date of production of the Octateuch. The major factor in the argument must be Isaac's first exile from 1122 to 1138. The style of painting, particularly that of the miniatures of the third illuminator, virtually precludes its manufacture prior to 1122. The years of exile must also be removed from consideration. Isaac may well have done some writing while abroad,³⁰ but the source of his paraphrase, the illustrated *Letter of Aristeas*, and the text with miniature cycle to which it belongs are by no means common items. The Seraglio Octateuch was doubtless produced in Constantinople,³¹ and the paraphrase was probably composed there. What remains is the period of 1138 to the early 1150s. Any attempt to narrow further the range depends not only on when the second exile to Heraclea began, which is unknown, but also on finer discriminations in the styles of painting and handwriting than are now possible. A period of about a decade and a half must suffice.

The group of painters who executed the commission for the Sebastocrator can be identified with considerable accuracy, since the illuminator of most of the miniature cycle—nearly 190 scenes in gatherings eighteen through sixty-four—was the leading painter in twelfth-century Constantinople. His hand is easily recognized elsewhere. To identify him is to establish, if not a particular institution or person known by name, at least a body of works to which the Octateuch belongs. The roughly one hundred miniatures in gatherings three through seventeen are another matter. This series of illustrations is distinctly less homogeneous, but is certainly the work of only two illuminators. Occasionally, whether owing to variations in scale or to the absence of figures, some of these miniatures are difficult to attribute decisively to one or the other painter. Such problematical attributions are argued in an appendix (*infra*), since the purpose of this analysis is to define the individual styles only as is necessary to identify works of the painters that might appear in other illuminated manuscripts or in icons.

The problem of attribution in the first third of the miniature cycle arises with the two opening scenes illustrating the *Letter of Aristeas*. The first

³⁰ For a work possibly composed during the exile, see E. Kurtz, "Ein Gedicht des Sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos," *BNJbb*, 5 (1926–27), 44–46.

³¹ This fact is indicated by the patronage and provenance of a number of the works of the Kokkinobaphos Master, the principal illuminator of the Octateuch.

miniature (fig. 1), on folio 11^v, showing Demetrius of Phaleron at the left and King Ptolemy at the right composing the letters initiating the translation of the text, is painted in a far less linear style than that of the succeeding miniature on folio 21 (fig. 5), which illustrates the Jewish elders with scrolls of the Law assembled before Ptolemy. The paint layers of the latter miniature are transparent washes of color with thin, sharp strokes of dense white for highlights and black for shadows, whereas in the former, opaque layers of base tone have been followed by brushed areas of soft highlight. The differences in technique are sufficient to allow attribution to different illuminators: Painter A (folio 11^v) and Painter B (folio 21). Further examination supports this division. In the early quires of the manuscript the two cooperate, but after gathering six the collaboration stops, and the next eleven quires are divided between them. Painter A's run of miniatures begins with gathering thirteen (folios 87–94) and ends with number seventeen (folios 119–26). At the same time, Painter B was presumably at work on his major series in gatherings seven (folios 39–46) through twelve (folios 79–86).

The work of Painter A may be examined and the distinctive aspects of his style established through the miniature on folio 90^v (fig. 2), the illustration to Gen. 24:1–9: Abraham's eldest servant swears, by touching his master's leg, that he will not choose a wife for Isaac from among the women of Canaan. Abraham wears a blue tunic under a light brown himation that is articulated by an almost continuous highlight from hip to shin. This highlight consists of individual patches which appear to dissolve by degrees with the light emerging from them on the crests of the folds. The garments of the servant and Isaac—respectively, a blue tunic and red hose, a red tunic and blue hose—show a similar approach: an attempt to suggest the overall roundness of form through the use of continuously illuminated zones of the body. In the figure of Isaac the patches of light on his left side are played off against the darker right side; in particular, note the right leg, drawn behind the left and thus in shadow. Even in miniatures where the highlights are not as sharply defined, which is generally the case, their role in suggesting the curvature of form is the same. The heads of the figures are rather large for their bodies, another aspect of Painter A's style. This disparity is further emphasized by the typical coiffure consisting of curly hair which is cut short just below the earlobes but flares strongly at the sides and back. The heads themselves are generally oval with round, small eyes set

into deeply shaded orbits drawn to emphasize the roundness. Almost habitually, Painter A adds a hook under the eye to define the area of sagging flesh, and he often shades the bridge of the nose to indicate the even rise of the brow above the sockets. In the miniature at hand the painter has used a light, noticeably pinkish tone for the flesh of the servant and Isaac to denote their youth relative to the darker-skinned Abraham. For the highlights of the flesh of the two boys he uses white, whereas the eye sockets and other shadows are brown. These tones are carefully applied to suggest the smooth transition of light to dark. Painter A's smooth treatment of the flesh would seem to contrast with his abrupt painting of the garments, even though these techniques are to a great extent determined by convention; in fact, his methods show a concern for plastic values tempered by an awareness of differing qualities of surface.

The work of this first illuminator is fairly uniform, although color schemes do vary. In the *bifolium* folios 89 + 92,³² part of the quire to which folio 90 belongs, brown with red shading is used instead of the pinkish tone; otherwise, the technique and formal qualities remain the same. Consider even the first miniature on folio 11^v (fig. 1). Certain elements are immediately striking, and distracting, primarily the use of a blue background, and an increased scale not only of true dimensions, but also in the relative amount of space inhabited by the figures. The change in scale probably accounts for most of the significant differences. With its increase, the articulation of the drapery becomes softer and more diffuse. In the painting of the faces the linear aspects of the illuminator's style become more apparent. Nevertheless, in the face of Ptolemy, seated at the far right, the round eyes and interest in modeling the orbit, the highlight line on the cheek, and the hook under the eye are all present, as is the shadow below the brow ridge. All are typical features of Painter A's work.

Painter B, who executed most of the miniatures in the first eleven quires of the manuscript, seems to me to be the weakest of the collaborators. In the style and quality of his miniatures there is a degree of variation that contrasts with the greater uniformity of the work of Painter A or the almost absolute uniformity of the third illuminator's miniatures. Despite this lack of a strong personal style, it does not seem possible to contend that Painter

³² The miniature on fol. 89^v is published by Uspenskij, "L'Oc-tateuque du Sérail," fig. 48.

B's work most clearly reflects the model; if anything, the contrary probably holds true. Of all the illuminators, Painter B most often paints the backgrounds of his miniatures. Generally the color is blue, although on several occasions he uses white, which, of course, is barely visible in reproduction.³³ The single most outstanding aspect of his style is its unremittingly linear quality. On folio 68^v (fig. 6) Painter B depicts Abraham and his family setting out for Canaan (Gen. 12:4). As in other miniatures in this series,³⁴ the faces have a distinctly pinkish cast. Several factors of style and technique, however, set his work apart from that of Painter A. The oval head shape with a wide cap of hair at the sides is absent, and the method of drawing the eyes differs considerably. Rather than depict emphatically round eyes and orbits, Painter B sets into shallow sockets almond-shaped eyes outlined in brown with a prominent black dot for the iris and pupil—hence the often sharp expressions on the faces of his figures. Rarely, if ever, does he use the small hook under the eye. The highlight on the forehead and cheek are simple lines drawn over the base tone. In his treatment of the drapery Painter B seems at first glance to employ the same methods as his colleague A, but the resemblance is only superficial and limited to specific forms. These are triangular or polygonal areas of light tone which Painter B then intermingles with a myriad of thin shadow and highlight lines. By spreading this network evenly over the figures he creates the effect of a fussy surface that tends to flatten the entire composition.

These same traits are apparent in miniatures throughout the cycle, on folios 54, 56^v,³⁵ 67, or 49,³⁶ with The Expulsion and The Lamentation, and 47, with Adam and Eve attempting to hide from God (fig. 4). Despite its poor condition, a characteristic of many of Painter B's illuminations, the miniature on folio 49 shows the linear technique used on faces. Highlights on the forehead, cheek, and around the mouth appear on the faces of the angel and first parents outside the guarded gateway. One notes also the long eyes and rather dainty quality of the fingers and hands. His treatment of the nude on folio 47 (fig. 4) is further instructive. Here Painter B seems to have blended the tones of the face with uncharacteristic care, although some linear detail-

ing of the mouth is apparent. Nevertheless, his division of the body into segments by areas of highlight composed of discrete lines or his typically delicate, but schematic, treatment of the knees all betray his hand. Contrast Painter A's handling of the nude in the miniature on folio 36^v (fig. 3); his simplified approach is more effective in suggesting the illusion of three-dimensional form.

The consideration of the work of Painter B leads naturally to the problem posed by gathering eleven,³⁷ which is unfinished. There are actually four groups of unfinished quires in the Seraglio Octateuch. The first comprises gatherings one through three, which contain the *Letter of Aristeas*, its paraphrase, and the preface of Theodoret of Cyrus. The second group, gatherings eleven and twelve, comes at the end of the series by Painter B. The third is within the run of Painter A, who was assigned gatherings thirteen through seventeen, but left sixteen incomplete. The fourth gap follows the work of the third painter who illuminated gatherings eighteen through sixty-four, but left the rest of the cycle unfinished. With the exception of gathering eleven, "unfinished" means a series of spaces that contain neither sketches nor any other indication of work in progress. The disposition of these sections, all of which correspond to complete quires, reinforces the attributions of the miniatures. It should be obvious, though, that the painters did not all drop their brushes in an instant. Clearly an attempt was made to finish at least those gatherings on which work had begun. This is not true, however, of gathering eleven.

Quire eleven is unique in containing not only blank spaces (on folios 71, 71^v, 72),³⁸ but also an outline drawing (folio 75)³⁹ and a number of partially finished miniatures (folios 74, 74^v, 76, 77, 77^v, 78).⁴⁰ As can be seen from the locations of these miniatures on the individual *bifolia*,⁴¹ the illuminator was executing the scenes as a consecutive group beginning after the fourth space.⁴² If we at-

³⁷This gathering has been studied from a somewhat different aspect by S. Dufrenne, "Note sur le mode de travail des miniaturistes byzantins d'après un des cahiers de l'Octateuque du Sérail," *Etudes de civilisation médiévale, Mélanges E.-R. Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), 247–53.

³⁸Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," pl. II, published the blank space on fol. 71, and Dufrenne, *op. cit.*, fig. 7, published that on fol. 71^v.

³⁹Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 45; Dufrenne, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

⁴⁰Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," figs. 44–46; Dufrenne, *op. cit.*, figs. 1–6.

⁴¹See the appendix, p. 106 *infra*.

⁴²For the reason why he leaves spaces at the beginning of the gathering, see p. 101 *infra*.

³³See, for example, the miniature on fol. 52 (*ibid.*, fig. 31).

³⁴See, for example, the miniatures on fols. 64, 65, and 67 (*ibid.*, figs. 40, 41, 43).

³⁵*Ibid.*, figs. 33–35.

³⁶*Ibid.*, fig. 26.

tempt to attribute these miniatures, the first candidate would logically be the illuminator responsible for the work in the preceding quire, Painter B, and, in fact, he seems to have been responsible. One example is the nearly complete illustration to Genesis 15:18–21 on folio 74^v (fig. 7). The frame is drawn, the background and drapery are painted, and the inscription is in place; only the areas for flesh tones seem to remain blank. Close inspection, though, suggests that even the drapery is only partially finished, that many of the dark lines indicating the deep troughs remain to be filled in. With this in mind, it is possible to continue and compare this miniature with Painter B's work on folio 68^v (fig. 6). In both scenes the drapery patterns are similarly expressed through a combination of long, thin strokes and broad areas of highlight spread over the figures, with the same consequence of a distractingly complex surface and concomitant lack of compositional focus. This is a quality foreign to the work of Painter A and, to anticipate briefly the analysis below, atypical of that of the third illuminator. Unless one proposes the collaboration of yet another illuminator who was responsible for only these miniatures and who worked in an unfinished mode, then the work must be assigned to Painter B, despite the obvious increase in scale in some of these scenes. He was surely responsible for the outline drawing on folio 75⁴³ and the sketching of the heads and faces of the figures in the other miniatures. The one possible exception would be the garments of the angels on folio 78,⁴⁴ which have been drawn in brown ink, perhaps by a later hand. In attributing the other drawings of faces and hands in this quire one hesitates, because from the flaked miniatures it seems that the black wash and wide brush strokes used in these few unfinished miniatures are not typical of the underdrawings. One reasonable explanation—since I do not believe that the outlines were strengthened at a later date—is that when work on the Octateuch was terminated, rather than leave the faces, hands, and so on blank, Painter B took a dark ink and quickly drew them in; and, in addition, he sketched the outlines of the composition on folio 75. He thus attempted to leave his portion of the cycle as complete as possible.

On folio 127, the start of gathering eighteen, the painting style changes to that which runs through the remainder of the manuscript. The contrast with the work of the painters responsible for the first

third of the cycle—even that of Painter A, whose work is most closely related—is so great as to allow no doubt that a different illuminator was responsible for these miniatures. All the illustrations from folio 127 onward are framed, and none has any background other than landscape or some architecture when called for by the text or by convention. This, of course, could also be said of most of Painter A's work, but in addition, the third illuminator's miniatures are, with only two exceptions early on (folios 127 and 134^v),⁴⁵ marked by a complete absence of inscriptions. Why there are none is difficult to say. Certainly they must have been present throughout the model and were probably not added by the illuminators;⁴⁶ nevertheless, this secondary trait is significant for the support it offers the findings of an analysis made strictly from style.

The impact of the third painter's miniatures is at once more decorative. Strong, saturated reds and blues, rich browns, and a somewhat warm light green are typical drapery colors. *Couleur changeante*, often a striking lavender to pink, is occasionally employed with a particularly deft touch. Pigment layers are almost always opaque and of absolute uniformity. Edges are deliberately and meticulously executed. The articulation of drapery by line, although hardly uncommon in this series of miniatures, is far simpler than that in the work of Painter B and is never fussy. But above all, it is the elegant use of decorative form that seems to set these miniatures apart. In the double illustration on folio 136^v (fig. 8), the painter in one case uses a compact and perfectly isoccephalic group to balance the action at the opposite side, while in the other the line of heads of a group of men in various stages of *proskynesis* forms a virtually uninterrupted arc of subtly suggestive movement toward Joseph. In contrast, the version of this scene executed by a less gifted illuminator in Vat. gr. 746 seems prosaic (fig. 9). In the study of the Seraglio Octateuch, the work of this third illuminator is of primary importance, for his hand is recognizable in a number of other manuscripts. From the start of a career that is marked by the illustration of Paris, gr. 75⁴⁷ and Vat. Urb. gr. 2⁴⁸ in around the 1120s,

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, figs. 65, 75–76.

⁴⁶ See pp. 99–100 *infra*.

⁴³ Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 45; Dufrenne, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

⁴⁴ Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 46.

⁴⁷ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, I (Paris, 1883), 10; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1916), fig. 138.

⁴⁸ C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Vatican City, 1895), 3–8; miniatures published *idem*, *Miniature*

the essential elements of his style appear to be established. The Seraglio Octateuch, like the Vatican copy of the homilies on the life of the Virgin by James the Monk (Vat. gr. 1162),⁴⁹ another of his commissions, is certainly a later, mature work. One difference between the early and the mature work lies in a growing expressiveness and monumentality, achieved partly through a simple increase in figure scale and partly through the heightened emotional intensity reflected in the faces. The contrast between the first manuscript of the homilies, Paris. gr. 1208,⁵⁰ and the later copy in the Vatican expresses this change. Two comparisons should serve to establish the link between the Octateuch and the Vat. gr. 1162.⁵¹

The first comparison centers mainly upon the Octateuch miniature on folio 289^v (fig. 10) illustrating Exodus 18:26–19:15 and the expanded Anastasis on folio 48^v of the Vatican Homilies (fig. 11). In the lower register of the Octateuch miniature Moses addresses the assembled elders, a group similar in its compactness as a single compositional unit—yet one in which none of the figures loses his identity—to the group standing behind St. John the Baptist in the center zone of the Vat. gr. 1162 miniature. In both groups the figure farthest from the main actor is so striking that by the interest it commands it tends to balance the composition; this figure is an older, bearded man with a strongly receding hairline who looks upward so sharply that his head is almost horizontal. His features are well defined by broad strokes with a wide shadow around the hairline, double highlight on the forehead, and a slight downward curve to the corners of the mouth. Often appearing in a comparable location anchoring the far end of a crowd of men, this figure seems to be one of the illuminator's stock types, one which he probably adapted from the portrait

of St. John the Evangelist.⁵² At the head of this same group in the Octateuch miniature is another of the painter's stock figures, one clearly based on St. Peter. His small eyes, marked by an emphatic circle, are a typical stylistic feature within this illuminator's repertory of facial types, especially those of small scale. The eyes are set into the deep but only vaguely indicated sockets created by the dark tone remaining after the highlights on the brow and length of the nose have been added. In the lower zone of the miniature on folio 472 of the Octateuch the group before Joshua is led by the same Petrine type, whereas the corresponding figures in the Smyrna Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 differ.⁵³ Other figures, such as Moses, also find parallels in the Vat. gr. 1162. Moses' low forehead, the detailing of the locks of hair with highlight lines, and the massing of the hair around the side and back of the head are apparent in a number of miniatures in the homilies manuscript.⁵⁴ The wide brush stroke on Moses' cheek is related to the usual spot of warm color found in the work of many Byzantine illuminators, but this painter often draws it either as a rectangle or as an attenuated triangle beginning just below the eye, as if, by showing a long thin shadow, to denote the plasticity of the figures' cheeks. There can be little doubt that the painter of these two miniatures is the same, and one who may be called, after the popular name of his most famous work, the "Kokkinobaphos Master."

The extended triangular shadow under the eye is distinctive in the Seraglio Octateuch, but not within the broader context of twelfth-century Byzantine painting. It is worthwhile to dwell briefly on this detail for the sake of the support it lends to the dating of the manuscript around the fifth decade of the century. Significantly, in his early work, like the Urb. gr. 2, which on the basis of the imperial portraits cannot be dated before around 1122⁵⁵ and should probably not be dated much later, he

delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco (Cod. Vatic. gr. 1162) e dell'Evangelario greco Urbinato (Cod. Vatic. Urbin. gr. 2), Codices e Vaticanis selecti, Series minor, 1 (Vatican City, 1910), pls. 83–91. For bibliography, see Canart and Peri, *op. cit.* (note 3 *supra*), 329.

⁴⁹Uncatalogued in modern times; see *ibid.*, 547–48; miniatures completely published by Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pls. 1–82.

⁵⁰Omout, *op. cit.*, 265; miniatures completely published *idem*, *Miniatures des homélies sur la Vierge du moine Jacques (MS grec 1208 de Paris)* Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 11 (Paris, 1927).

⁵¹G. Millet, "L'Octateuque byzantin d'après une publication d l'Institut russe à Constantinople," *RA*, 16 (1910), 72, has remarked on the close relationship between the Seraglio Octateuch and the Paris. gr. 1208; the Octateuch's stylistic relationship with the version in the Vatican Library, however, is considerably closer.

⁵²This is suggested by both the facial type and the pose, with head tilted upward; see H. Buchthal, "A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives," *DOP*, 15 (1961), 129–39. It is possible that from time to time the illuminator may have been prompted by aspects of the model; in this case, compare the corresponding figures in the Vat. gr. 746, fol. 205 (unpublished), and the Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 87 (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 187).

⁵³Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Séraïl," fig. 217; Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, 268; Vat. gr. 746 miniature unpublished.

⁵⁴For example, see Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 108 (Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pl. 44).

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 83; the question of the date is discussed in I. Spatarakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Byzantina neerlandica, 6 (Leiden, 1976), 82–83.

uses the conventional dot of color on the cheek. In fact, it is difficult to find this trait used extensively prior to at least the second quarter of the twelfth century. In some works it may be adumbrated in the three-quarter view of the head as a feature purely descriptive of an apparent depression between the cheek and nose.⁵⁶ In the Octateuch and other twelfth-century works that could be cited the shadow is more than a way to indicate further the complex contours of the face. Parallels from monumental painting seem germane, since the development of this feature likely occurred outside of book painting. In the eleventh-century cycles of Hosios Loukas and Daphni it is not to be seen. An early example occurs in the frescoes of 1164 in the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi;⁵⁷ the shadow then becomes increasingly common in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, as in the frescoes of St. George at Kurbinovo.⁵⁸ In all these examples the triangular shadow serves to heighten the expressiveness of the faces. In the Threnos, for example, it is particularly effective in suggesting deep pathos.⁵⁹ In the later work of the Kokkinobaphos Master the shadow serves to increase both the expressiveness of the faces and their plastic complexity. As an aspect of Byzantine pictorial style most common in the second half of the twelfth century it offers further reason for dating the Octateuch later in the life of Isaac Sebastocrator.

In addition to the methods of painting the faces of his figures, or their particular facial types, the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master is marked by his ability to paint drapery in such a fashion as to

give the miniatures a feeling of energy. It is not possible, though, to reduce his style of rendering cloth to one or even a few idiosyncratic devices. Occasionally he uses fine lines like the dark strokes on the garment of Pharaoh's body guard at the left in the miniature on folio 139 of the Octateuch (fig. 12) and on the tunic of Joachim at the top left in the miniature on folio 44^v of Vat. gr. 1162 (fig. 13). Sometimes, particularly when indicating the tight folds on sleeves or near hemlines, the Kokkinobaphos Master employs tense, short strokes of high-light or shadow. For longer, broader troughs and depressions he uses wide hatch marks that either abut a long line⁶⁰ or simply stand alone.⁶¹ One trait that often signals the illuminator's hand is the wide but short curving highlight. Such lines serve to suggest the forms beneath the cloth while creating a highly agitated surface. In figures 12 and 13 this device can be seen on Pharaoh's tunic and that of the seated priest at the top right of the miniature in the homilies manuscript. On a few occasions the highlights are so short and supple as to suggest strong light striking bunched silk. The illuminator is, in fact, particularly sensitive to the effect of light on complex surfaces. In the figure standing behind Joseph in the Octateuch and the one with the peacock-feather fan in the lower register of the Vat. gr. 1162 miniature, the Kokkinobaphos Master has drawn the soles of the boots on the left feet with darker, heavier lines than those outlining the soles on the right.

The Kokkinobaphos Master's facility with line is surely one of the important criteria for defining changes in his style; in the later works he seems to rely somewhat less on actual modeling through the gradation of tone. In such works as the Vatican Homilies (gr. 1162) and the Seraglio Octateuch his technique is so accomplished, his treatment of form so facile, as to be just on the verge of mannerism: note the highlights of the drapery of the Israelites receiving the quail in the Octateuch miniature on folio 203 (fig. 14). The illuminator of the corresponding scene in Vat. gr. 746 uses a conventional approach (fig. 15), but the Kokkinobaphos Master reduces the pattern to a set of lines that seem to writhe on the surface; and here his technique tempts

⁵⁶ As, for example, in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter-New Testament on fols. 75 and 80^v (S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 [1965], figs. 11, 22). Two early twelfth-century works with some indication of this treatment are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. gr. 1262, and Magaspelaion, cod. 8 (L. Nees, "An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter at Harvard University," *DOP*, 29 [1975], 207–24, figs. 7, 12).

⁵⁷ P. Miljković-Pepk, *Nerezi* (Belgrade, 1966), pls. 14, 15, 34, 36–38, 39; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), fig. 302.

⁵⁸ L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 6 (Brussels, 1975), pls. 22, 23, 42, 75, 78, 176, 179. It also appears in nearly contemporary book painting; see the examples in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, cod. gr. q^o 66 (R. Hamann-Mac Lean, "Der Berliner Codex graecus quarto 66 und seine nächsten Verwandten als Beispiele des Stilwandels im frühen 13. Jahrhundert," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. F. Dettweiler, H. Köllner, and P. Riedl [Marburg, 1967], figs. 2, 3, 5).

⁵⁹ For some examples conveniently grouped, see T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, 11 (Paris, 1978), pls. XL–XLII.

⁶⁰ For example, see the Seraglio Octateuch, fol. 195^v (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 120), and Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 65 (Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pl. 27).

⁶¹ For example, see the Seraglio Octateuch, fol. 131^v (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 221), and Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 68 (Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pl. 27).

description as a mannered one wherein the elements of style have become disassociated from their descriptive functions and manipulated for decorative effect. Yet no single rule ever seems applicable. In the figure at the far right of the top scene of the Vat. gr. 746 miniature the drapery, as it falls between the legs, is shaded to show the thigh and calf. For the comparable figure in the Seraglio Octateuch the Kokkinobaphos Master uses a simple pattern in order to define a plane with some evenly spaced folds.

Two points remain to confirm the attribution of the Seraglio Octateuch miniatures to the illuminator of the Vat. gr. 1162. The first regards a particular way of coloring faces. Unlike his collaborators in the Octateuch, the Kokkinobaphos Master employs three flesh tones in a uniform way. Generally, a cool cream color is used for women and youths, and a warm brown or tan for mature men; however, for certain heroes a distinctly greenish color prevails. By this device of coloration Moses and Joshua stand out in contrast to the other figures. It is difficult to find exact parallels for this practice in other works by the illuminator, perhaps owing to the nature of the illustrations in these works (Evangelist portraits, feast pictures, scenes from the life of the Virgin). The homilies manuscripts provide a parallel in the scene of the Virgin and her angelic entourage surrounded by the hierarchies of saints.⁶² The flesh of the Virgin and angels is a cream color; that of the four groups of saints in the corners of the miniature is a warm tan; but the faces of the youthful saints below the Virgin's throne are a greenish color. Likewise, the face of Christ in The Anastasis in the Urb. gr. 2 stands out by virtue of its greenish tone.⁶³ In contrast to the miniatures of Painters A and B in the Octateuch this technique sets apart the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master and, by its use in the Vat. gr. 1162, further contributes to his identity. As will be shown below, however, it was adopted by his followers and so alone is not necessarily a sure sign of his hand.

One expects to find revealing idiosyncrasies in small and compositionally insignificant details, and one such example deserves citation. If it is assumed that the three twelfth-century Octateuchs with miniatures were produced from the same model—as K. Weitzmann suggests by way of his diagram of filiation produced in conjunction with his study of the Joshua Roll⁶⁴—then some control

can be exercised in the analysis of variations in detail that occur in the copying of the same illustration by different illuminators. In the scene of the butler before Pharaoh in the three manuscripts there is a table set before the ruler (fig. 11 a-c).⁶⁵ In all three pictures the design of this piece of furniture is similar, and the agreement between Smyrna and Seraglio in the shape and position of the legs no doubt arises from close copying of the model. In the Seraglio Octateuch the table differs from the others in an inconsequential way: a cloth is drawn so it appears to hang down over the opposite ends. The same way of treating the cloth can be seen in the miniature on folio 104^v of the Vat. gr. 1162 (fig. 11 d),⁶⁶ as well as in that on folio 142 of the earlier Paris. gr. 1208,⁶⁷ whose cycle the illuminator certainly designed, probably in consultation with the author.⁶⁸

In contrast to the styles of his collaborators, that of the Kokkinobaphos Master seems quite stable. Occasionally, slight variations, presumably owing to the illuminator's concentrating on his model, are detectable; nevertheless, the work is easily attributed to a single hand. Confirmation comes from the contrast offered by the work of Painter A, the collaborator most strongly influenced by the Kokkinobaphos Master. In Painter A's miniature on folio 90^v (fig. 2) there are a number of specific parallels with aspects of the Kokkinobaphos Master's style; the miniature on folio 136^v (fig. 8) provides a convenient point of reference. Among the similarities are: the lively figures whose heads seem to be triangularly shaped; the effort to indicate the roundness of the face and the plasticity of its features by strong illumination and deep shadows; and the soft modeling through careful shading. Sometimes, as in this miniature, Painter A closely approximates the method of rendering drapery practiced with such skill by the Kokkinobaphos Master. Even Painter B seems occasionally to be striving for similar effects; note the child on folio 57. Painter B's drawing of the knees comes from

⁶⁵ The only miniature of the three that is published is that of the Smyrna Octateuch: Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 127.

⁶⁶ Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pl. 43.

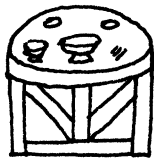
⁶⁷ Omont, "Miniatures des homélies" (note 50 *supra*), pl. 17.

⁶⁸ This suggestion, made by the authors of the catalogue to the 1958 Paris exhibition of Byzantine manuscripts, *Byzance et la France médiévale* (Paris, 1958), 21–22, is impossible to prove but has much to recommend it. Recently, a probable case of collaboration between author and illuminator has been argued by T. Mathews, "The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1," *OCP*, 43 (1977), 99.

⁶² Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pl. 3.

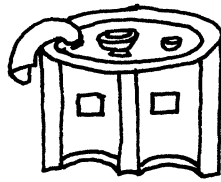
⁶³ *Ibid.*, pl. 90.

⁶⁴ *The Joshua Roll*, 38.



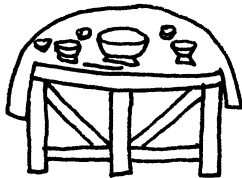
a.

a. Smyrna, Evangelical School, cod. A.I, fol. 52^v



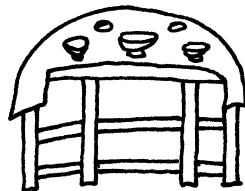
b.

b. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 746, fol. 123



c.

c. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 128^v



d.

d. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1162, fol. 104^v

II. Table Set before Pharaoh

the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master, who uses a similar convention, although with wider lines and sometimes a double highlight in the circle to suggest better the kneecap and tendon attached to it.⁶⁹ Such examples of influence are by no means striking, and one must wonder what the relationship between the collaborators really was. It is certain that the nature of their partnership cannot be determined with any degree of confidence through the analysis of the Seraglio Octateuch alone; and the other surviving manuscripts that the Kokkinobaphos Master illuminated—for example, the Paris. gr. 1208, Vat. gr. 1162, and Vat. Urb. gr. 2—all have miniature cycles completely executed by his hand. The extraordinary number of scenes in the Octateuch, however, obviously called for a collaborative effort. Since the other twelfth-century Octateuchs

⁶⁹ For example, compare Painter B's miniature on fol. 47 (fig. 4) with those of the Kokkinobaphos Master on fols. 420, 485, 487 (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," figs. 199, 239, 243).

are closely related to the *Seragliensis*, it is reasonable to look to them for possibly relevant information regarding the collaboration. The first that will be taken up is the more difficult of the two, the now lost Smyrna Octateuch.

On 1 September 1922 the Smyrna Octateuch was destroyed when the library of the Evangelical School burned. Fortunately, Robert Eisler had already photographed the miniatures, and these photographs, published in 1909 by D.-C. Hesselning,⁷⁰ form the only available record of the manuscript save two entire leaves reproduced by Uspenskij in his album of plates devoted mainly to the *Seragliensis*.⁷¹ Although it has the virtue of presenting all the miniatures, Hesselning's study of the manuscript consists only of a brief introduction and a commentary that fail to provide the information needed at various turns to reconcile the cycles. In a few cases the short notice on the Octateuch published in 1899 by J. Strzygowski is supplementary.⁷² No source, though, offers a firsthand account of what is clearly the first issue that must be taken up: the manuscript is not all of one piece.

As is evident from Hesselning's reproductions, the Smyrna Octateuch had been repainted and augmented, no doubt for the purpose of repairing damage. At some point in the Late Byzantine period the beginning leaves of the manuscript must have required replacement. The handwriting of the text and title on folio 27³ is doubtless of a date later than the twelfth century; in addition, both the style and the composition of the miniature on this leaf confirm its being a later addition.⁷⁴ It is possible, although to my mind unlikely, that the replacement of the first leaf or two of text occurred at the same time as the repainting of the miniature cycle. This repainting seems to have amounted to an actual restoration confined to the figures, and particularly to their delicate layers of flesh tone, which are most often lost through flaking.⁷⁵ The hand of the restorer runs throughout the cycle: compare the repainted faces of Pharaoh and his two body-

⁷⁰ *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*.

⁷¹ "L'Octateuque du Sérail," pl. vi.

⁷² *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus, des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna*, ByzArch, 2 (Leipzig, 1899), 113–26.

⁷³ Hesselning, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 1.

⁷⁴ Lassus, *op. cit.*, (note 7 *supra*), 94–97, notes that the composition stands outside the tradition of Octateuch illustration; he attributes this difference to the copiest.

⁷⁵ Hesselning, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, viii, seems to note only the restoration of the miniature on fol. 39 (fig. 82). Some of the damage, like that of Pharaoh's face on fol. 57^v (my fig. 17), may have been done on purpose.

guards in the miniature on folio 57^v (fig. 17) with those of the other figures in this same miniature. Some scenes may have been totally redone,⁷⁶ and in a few others the compositions may have been significantly altered by a change in only a few figures.⁷⁷ The restorer's style seems not far removed from that of the painter of the Evangelist portraits in Mt. Athos, Koutloumousiou cod. 290, dated 1562.⁷⁸ Even though one might choose to refrain from drawing any firm conclusions based on the photographic reproductions available, the similarity to the dated Athos manuscript suggests that the restoration of the Smyrna Octateuch may not coincide with its dedication by one Misyriontes(?) to the church of the Blessed Nikon in 1259, the one piece of internal documentary evidence regarding the manuscript's history.⁷⁹ Finally, by at least the twentieth century the Octateuch must have been missing one or more gatherings toward the end.⁸⁰

Once aware of the repainting, one may proceed to consider the possibility that any illuminator occupied on the Smyrna Octateuch was also involved in the Seraglio Manuscript. It is questionable whether or not the process of attribution can be divorced from the primary responsibility of defining an illuminator's identity within the context of the single work. To attribute fully and convincingly all the miniatures in the manuscript, though, would require more information than is available. Nevertheless, as will become clear, it is impossible to ignore the question of style in the *Smyrnaeus*. The following observations are offered with great caution.

Within the first fifty or so leaves several manners appear, but the principal one—into which some of the others could possibly be subsumed as variants—is that of the miniature on folio 30^v showing the circumcision of the house of Abraham (fig. 18). The contrast between light and dark is strong, even when one allows for enhancement of this effect in the reproduction process. Note, for example, the juxtaposition of tones at the juncture of the brow ridge and orbits of the eyes. Into deep sockets that are defined by a more or less straight line the illuminator sets stark eyeballs, and the entire area gives the face a peculiarly intense quality. On the drap-

ery, like that around Abraham's left leg as he stands before God at the left of the miniature, broad areas of highlight built up of extremely fine lines are played off against deep shadow. While this manner is concentrated in the early parts of the cycle, especially between folios 26 and 38,⁸¹ some later miniatures—for example, that on folio 223⁸²—are obviously related. It is a fair conclusion, I believe, that this manner of painting cannot be associated with the work of any miniaturist active in the execution of the Seraglio Octateuch.

Of considerably greater relevance are the scenes that begin at folio 51^v and continue intermittently to folio 97,⁸³ but with further examples of the same style occurring both earlier and later in the cycle.⁸⁴ In the miniature on folio 52 (fig. 19), illustrating Joseph's fateful encounter with the wife of Potiphar, a number of features place the execution directly within the circle of the Kokkinobaphos Master and, in fact, suggest attribution to his hand. Among these are the broad and supple lines of highlight on the garments, the simple facial types with soft, round eye sockets and the long shadow running down the cheek. A survey of the three renditions of the miracle of the quail and manna (figs. 14–16) is instructive. In comparison with the version in the Vat. gr. 746, the elements that signal the hand of the Kokkinobaphos Master stand out strongly in the Smyrna miniature, and the contrast is further heightened by the work in the other manners in the *Smyrnaeus*, like that on folio 30^v (fig. 18). Yet the scene of the miracle of the quail and manna is not a precise copy of that in the Seraglio Octateuch. They are simply painted in the same style, and I would suggest, by the same illuminator.⁸⁵

Many of the later miniatures in the Smyrna Octateuch, like that on folio 220^v (fig. 21), showing Joshua sending out the spies who are then received by Rahab, are sufficiently unlike the others to warrant ascription to yet another hand. This style, which appears intermittently in earlier parts of the manuscript (cf. fig. 20), recalls the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master, yet contains qualities that signify

⁷⁶ See, for example, *ibid.*, fig. 82.

⁷⁷ For example, see the miniature on fol. 174^v (*ibid.*, fig. 246).

⁷⁸ S. Pelekanides, P. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, and S. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos, Illuminated Manuscripts*, II (Athens, 1973), 462, figs. 358–61.

⁷⁹ Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, ii.

⁸⁰ Or so I conjecture on the basis of lacunae in the cycle as published.

⁸¹ Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, figs. 43–89, 91.

⁸² *Ibid.*, fig. 274.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, figs. 123–90.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 33, 34, 212, 213, 220, 221, 228, 229.

⁸⁵ The possibility that one manuscript is a close copy of the other and that elements of style were thereby transferred must be ruled out on the grounds of a lack of correspondence in scenes painted in the style of the Kokkinobaphos Master; as also happens, it is not possible that one manuscript could be a copy of the other. See p. 101 *infra*.

another illuminator. Instead of a vigorous interplay of dark and light lines and zones, the illuminator relies mainly on long and curving highlights to describe the drapery covering his rather thick-waisted figures. It is the painting of the faces with a long shadow on the cheek that suggests the Kokkinobaphos Master, but other aspects of the style indicate only a close follower. The proportions are especially revealing (fig. 21). The figures, particularly the soldiers behind Joshua, tend to be wide across the shoulders and chest, and the upper part of the body is markedly longer than the legs. In the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master, the figures tend to have long legs and short trunks, a canon that perhaps contributes to the sense of elegance conveyed by his miniatures. This third style cannot be confidently associated with that of either Painter A or Painter B of the Seraglio Octateuch. It is only the Kokkinobaphos Master that links the two manuscripts.

The style of script of the *Smyrnaeus* also presents difficulties in evaluation. It is known from the two pages published by Uspenskij⁸⁶—folios 4 and 5—as well as from the lines that can be seen here and there in the reproductions published by Hesseling and Strzygowski. In general, the hand is a strongly vertical one with evenly spaced letters that occasionally lean backward. On folios 4 and 5, though, the forms are considerably more clipped and angular than those later in the manuscript which are visible in the publications devoted to the miniatures. For example, the flow of ligatures in Hesseling's figure 271 (folio 221^v) is so much more fluid than the writing in the early leaves that it must represent the work of another scribe. Although one has little difficulty in accepting either manner as being roughly contemporary with that of the Seraglio Octateuch, there is no immediate temptation to relate them to the style of the Seraglio itself. The evidence of the Smyrna Octateuch has complicated the consideration of the commission of the *Seragliensis*; an attempt to clarify the matter cannot be made without reference to the third twelfth-century Octateuch, Vat. gr. 746.

Like the other twelfth-century examples, the Vat. gr. 746 is the result of a collaboration of several illuminators. Since, in my estimation, none of them can be directly associated with a painter active in either the Seraglio or the Smyrna Octateuch, the discussion of style may be brief and confined to

one miniature, that on folio 59^v illustrating Genesis 9:24–29 (fig. 22). As in many other scenes in the Vat. gr. 746, the influence of the Kokkinobaphos Master is strong. The figures are tall and move with freedom; their faces, especially those of Noah's sons, are boldly illuminated but with subtly graded transitions of tone. The long shadow on the cheek, the lively and facile drapery highlights—in this and other miniatures illustrated here (figs. 9, 15, and 24)—even the deliberate use of three colors for the faces of the figures⁸⁷ all suggest immediate contact with the Kokkinobaphos Master or his work. The handwriting of the Vat. gr. 746 also reveals particular similarities with that of the Seraglio Octateuch.

The style of script of the *Seragliensis* is uniform throughout the entire manuscript (except the paraphrase of the Aristean Letter). At first glance, it appears to be quite different from those of the other manuscripts on which the Kokkinobaphos Master worked as illuminator. For example, in its cursive quality the handwriting of the Octateuch is hardly comparable to that of the Gospel books, Vat. Urb. gr. 2⁸⁸ or Paris. gr. 75.⁸⁹ N. Wilson has given some attention to the type of script one sees in the Octateuch; in his most recent study of the matter he demonstrates the emergence in the Middle Byzantine Period of a style he calls the "scholarly hand."⁹⁰ It is one quite distinct from that of the Gospel books just referred to. This scholarly hand is marked by particular forms and cursive elements which, as Wilson shows,⁹¹ appear in chancery documents from an early period, some as early as the mid-tenth century, and especially in rescripts prepared in a less formal manner, presumably by chancery scribes. Folio 542 of the Seraglio Octateuch (fig. 37, after Uspenskij's plate v) shows many of the features of this hand. Among them are: the enlarged forms of *lambda*, *kappa*, and *tau* (all line 1, etc.); the *alpha* with exaggerated diagonal stroke (line 1, etc.); the markedly circular form of *omicron*, occasionally enclosing other letters (lines 1 and 11); the *nu* composed of three straight strokes (line 1, etc.); the placement of the *tau* over the *omicron* or *omega* in the definite article (line 3, etc., and last line of the Septuagint text, respectively). Of course, these are only the particular elements of a style that may be

⁸⁷ For example, the face of Moses on fol. 423 (unpublished).

⁸⁸ Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pls. 85, 87, 89, 91, 93.

⁸⁹ See note 47 *supra*.

⁹⁰ "Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period," *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 221–39.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 223–28.

⁸⁶ "L'Octateuque du Sérail," pl. vi; the Septuagint text on folio 4 appears to have been retraced, perhaps as the result of the damage that required replacement of some sheets.

analyzed in more comprehensive terms. Of paramount importance is the enhancement of the natural dichotomy of the two main letter types. First, the scribe writes round letters in an exaggerated fashion that occasionally results in an ellipse with the major axis parallel to the horizontal guides. Second, the scribe exhibits a tendency to extend the naturally straight strokes. In the Octateuch, this contrast is further heightened by the use of a fairly broad pen which, when held at a constant angle, calls attention to the differences between the various strokes. Consider the *epsilon* in lines 2, 9, 18, 27, and 30 of folio 542 and how the scribe pointedly signals the letter's component parts. The body is divided into a curving upper stroke serving to connect it with various other letters, *nu pi, iota*, etc. The upper stroke is not made so as to suggest a continuous curve turning in upon itself to form the lower bow; instead, it is studiously placed just slightly off the true tangent. Whereas a superficially similar angularity is apparent in some tenth-century manuscripts,⁹² a true parallel is found in the work of the scribe of a *chrysobull* of Alexius I Comnenus, dated April 1102, in the Great Lavra, Mt. Athos.⁹³

Exactly how this style came to be transmitted beyond the circle of chancery functionaries is of little importance here; of note are the narrow and broad implications of the appearance of this style in the Seraglio Octateuch. First, the *Seragliensis* contributes to an assessment of its spread beyond official circles. Clearly, by the mid-twelfth century it had been accepted as a calligraphic manner suitable for books produced by scribes who were engaged in producing *de luxe* editions of ecclesiastical texts in far more conservative manners. The content of the Octateuch is of course decisive. It is not a liturgical manuscript intended for public readings; nor is it, like Gospel books with more or less *pro forma* lectionary apparatus, related to the liturgical tradition. Furthermore, it stands out in having marginalia commonly associated with scholarly editions. In general type and presentation it resembles such works as the twelfth-century Oxford Homer, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.2.7, the apparatus of which consists mainly of paraphrase.⁹⁴ The second and narrow implication of the paleographical questions arises from a connection between the hand-

writing style of the Octateuch and that of several other manuscripts on which the Kokkinobaphos Master worked. Support for this observation comes from the fact that the cursive style naturally suited to the Octateuch came to influence the more conservative manner used in writing traditional ecclesiastical texts. For example, the Kokkinobaphos Master illuminated two Gospel books probably produced toward the end of the second quarter of the twelfth century: Paris. gr. 71⁹⁵ (fig. 25) and the Codex Ebnerianus (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. inf. 1.10).⁹⁶ Both works exhibit the particular contrast between round and straight letter forms. Naturally, the extreme cursive quality of the Octateuch is somewhat suppressed, but enough similarity remains to suggest a pattern of collaboration of scribes and painters into which the Vat. gr. 746 may fit.

Two scribes were occupied in the preparation of the Vat. gr. 746. The first wrote most of the text: folios 1–219 and 341–508^v. The second wrote only that on folios 220–340^v. The changes were planned for and made at the natural breaks between quires, although the calculations did not work out perfectly since folio 340^v, the last leaf of its gathering, is largely empty. In addition, both scribes ruled their own sheets and in slightly different patterns (figs. III a-b). The first scribe writes in a cursive hand closely related to, though executed with less *panache* than, that of the Seraglio Octateuch (fig. 23). Similar are the general impression and the specific forms belonging to the so-called scholarly hand. The work of folios 220–340^v is quite different in initial impact, despite the continuing use of the blunt-cut pen and certain round forms (figs. 24, 34). It is the verticality and stately spacing of the letters that sets this work apart from that of the Seraglio Octateuch as well as that of the major scribe of the rest of the Vatican manuscript. My suspicion, which cannot be supported by specific comparisons with dated manuscripts, is that the style of this scribe makes the Vat. gr. 746 the latest of the twelfth-century Octateuchs.⁹⁷

The styles of both handwriting and painting

⁹² See Paris. gr. 451 (K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera, Ser. I, 4 [Boston, 1935], pl. 230, line 5).

⁹³ P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, and N. Svoronos, *Actes de Lavra des origines à 1204*, Archives de l'Athos, 5 (Paris, 1970), 282–87, pl. LVII.

⁹⁴ N. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 23, pls. 40, 41, especially the latter.

⁹⁵ Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* (note 47 *supra*), 10; J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London-New York, 1961), 115, fig. 148; J. Anderson, "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," *ArtB*, 61 (1979), 171, fig. 10.

⁹⁶ H. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxford, 1853), 103; I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, I, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1 (Stuttgart, 1977), 59–67, color pl. III, figs. 225–55; Wilson, *Bookhands*, 24–25, pl. 45.

⁹⁷ Elements of this scribe's style are not far removed from the hand of Vat. gr. 1162; see the text page published by Stornajolo, *Miniature*, pl. 92.

demonstrate that close relationships exist between the three Octateuchs; indeed, the Kokkinobaphos Master provides a direct link between the Smyrna and Seraglio Octateuchs. As would be expected, the miniature cycles are overwhelmingly similar. Not only are the individual compositions usually the same from one manuscript to the next, but also inconsequential details, the number and shapes of trees,⁹⁸ designs of incidental buildings,⁹⁹ or even bits of ribbon tied behind a hat¹⁰⁰ are repeated with extraordinary precision. This is not to ignore the

compositional differences that do, from time to time, occur. Rather, it is to place them in a practical context: they are generally isolated examples which must be explained by the working methods of scribes and painters whose single task was the faithful reproduction of the model before them. Apart from helping to account for the discrepancies among the manuscripts, a brief consideration of how the Octateuchs were made contributes evidence toward an evaluation of the Kokkinobaphos Master's role in their production.

The first stage in the making of the Octateuchs was the writing of the text; the extensive series of spaces in gatherings twelve, sixteen, and sixty-five through seventy-three of the Seraglio Octateuch leave no doubt concerning this fact. The scribes ruled the leaves of parchment according to patterns they were comfortable with. It is noteworthy that the range of patterns from the Seraglio Octateuch to Vat. gr. 746 is fairly great even though the material to be transcribed is exactly the same. As the Vatican Octateuch shows, if more than one scribe was writing the text the work was apportioned by gatherings. As they wrote, the scribes left spaces that corresponded in size and location to the miniatures in the model. Any errors that the scribes committed would obviously result in problems in the copying of the miniature cycle, although on the whole the scribes worked in an accurate manner. The extent to which the process was a mechanical one is demonstrated by the case, discussed in detail below, in which three different scribes left space for a miniature that in the model was either badly damaged or totally unfinished. Despite such concern, errors could creep into the cycle. An example occurs in the Vat. gr. 746 at folios 267–73, the opening half-dozen or so miniatures in the book of Leviticus. The scribe left more spaces than there were miniatures in the model. The illuminator soon realized the problem; he repeated two compositions (miniatures on folios 267 and 268^v repeated on folios 267^v and 271), made some erasures (folios 272 and 273^v), and then, leaving the short series incomplete, resumed where he was sure of continuity.

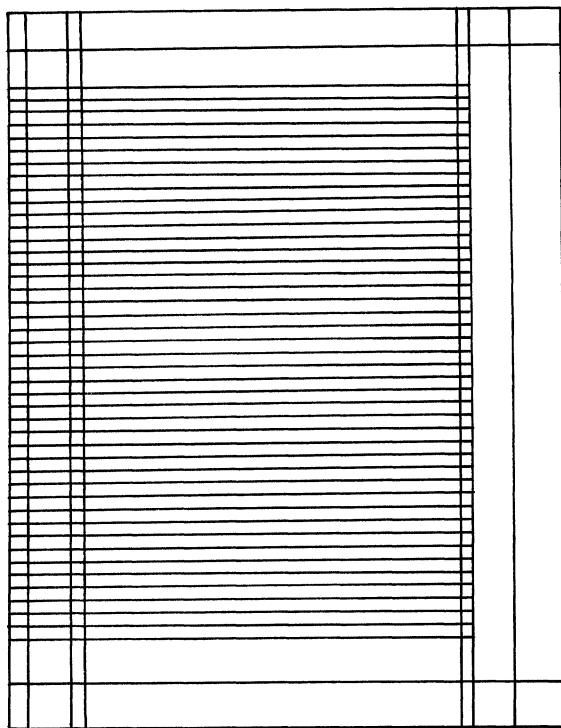
The next stage in work on the Octateuchs was the apportionment of the illuminators' responsibilities. Although the miniature cycle of each manuscript was a collaborative effort, the remarks here

⁹⁸For example, compare the following series: Seraglio, fol. 37^v, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 31, and Smyrna, fol. 9^v (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 12); Seraglio, fol. 42, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 36^v, and Smyrna, fol. 12^v (Hesseling, fig. 17); Seraglio, fol. 43^v (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 25), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 37^v (Lassus, *op. cit.*, [note 7 *supra*], fig. on p. 131), and Smyrna, fol. 13 (Hesseling, fig. 19); Seraglio, fol. 46, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 40^v (Lassus, fig. on p. 133), and Smyrna, fol. 13^v (Hesseling, fig. 20); Seraglio, fol. 47, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 41^v (Lassus, fig. on p. 134), and Smyrna, fol. 15 (Hesseling, fig. 21); Seraglio, fol. 67, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 63, and Smyrna, fol. 25^v (Hesseling, fig. 42); Seraglio, fol. 69, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 65, and Smyrna, fol. 26^v (Hesseling, fig. 46); Seraglio, fol. 70^v, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 66^v, and Smyrna, fol. 27 (Hesseling, fig. 50); Vat. gr. 746, fol. 80^v, and Smyrna, fol. 34 (Hesseling, fig. 76); Seraglio, fol. 98 (Uspenskij, fig. 54), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 91^v, and Smyrna, fol. 39^v (Hesseling, fig. 93); Seraglio, fol. 101^v (Uspenskij, fig. 56), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 94^v, and Smyrna, fol. 41 (Hesseling, fig. 96); Seraglio, fol. 119, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 113, and Smyrna, fol. 48 (Hesseling, fig. 115); Seraglio, fol. 170^v (Uspenskij, fig. 100), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 166, and Smyrna, fol. 70 (Hesseling, fig. 158); Seraglio, fol. 257, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 251^v, and Smyrna, fol. 109 (Hesseling, fig. 203); Seraglio, fol. 401 (Uspenskij, figs. 193–94), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 382, and Smyrna, fol. 190 (Hesseling, fig. 253); Seraglio, fol. 470 (Uspenskij, fig. 213), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 437, and Smyrna, fol. 218^v (Hesseling, fig. 266); or Seraglio, fol. 488 (Uspenskij, fig. 246), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 452 (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè* [note 6 *supra*], pl. E).

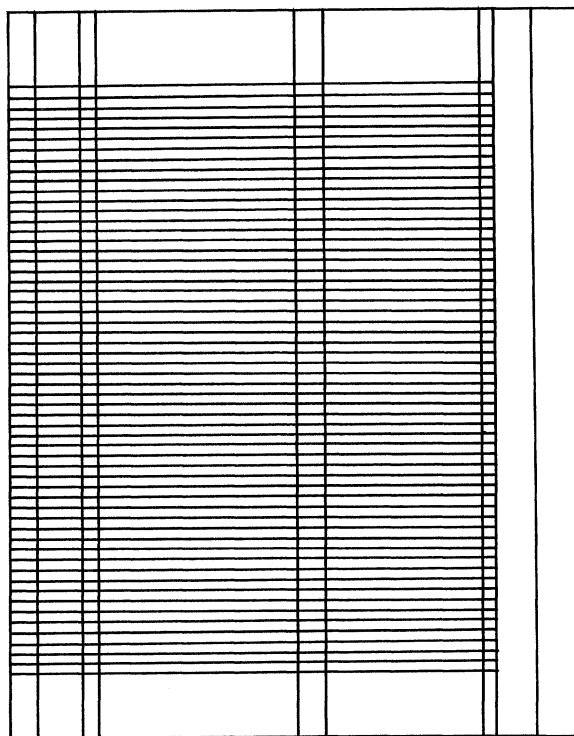
⁹⁹For example, compare the following series: Seraglio, fol. 52 (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 31), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 47, and Smyrna, fol. 17^v (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 26); Seraglio, fol. 69, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 65, and Smyrna, fol. 26^v (Hesseling, fig. 46); Vat. gr. 746, fol. 75, and Smyrna, fol. 31 (Hesseling, fig. 64); Seraglio, fol. 95^v (Uspenskij, fig. 51), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 89^v, and Smyrna, fol. 39 (Hesseling, fig. 90); Seraglio, fol. 101^v (Uspenskij, fig. 56), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 94^v, and Smyrna, fol. 41 (Hesseling, fig. 96); Vat. gr. 746, fol. 110, and Smyrna, fol. 47^v (Hesseling, fig. 113); Seraglio, fol. 142, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 136, and Smyrna, fol. 59 (Hesseling, fig. 145); Seraglio, fol. 157^v (Uspenskij, figs. 93–94), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 153, and Smyrna, fol. 64^v (Hesseling, fig. 153); Seraglio, fol. 179^v (Uspenskij, fig. 108), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 174, and Smyrna, fol. 74 (Hesseling, fig. 167); Seraglio, fol. 324 (Uspenskij, fig. 159), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 318, and Smyrna, fol. 150 (Hesseling, fig. 220); Seraglio, fol. 476 (Uspenskij, fig. 221), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 442 (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. B,2), and Smyrna, fol. 221^v (Hesseling, fig. 271); Seraglio, fol. 475 (Uspenskij, fig. 220), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 441 (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. A,2), and Smyrna, fol. 221 (Hesseling, fig. 270); Seraglio, fol. 480^v, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 446 (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. C,4), and Smyrna, fol. 224^v (Hesseling, fig. 277); Seraglio, fol. 482^v (Uspenskij, fig. 234), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 447^v (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. C,5), and Smyrna, fol. 225 (Hesseling, fig. 478); Vat. gr. 746, fol. 461^v (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. I,1), and Smyrna, fol. 234^v (Hesseling, fig. 305); or Vat. gr. 746, fol. 473^v, and Smyrna, fol. 242 (Hesseling, fig. 318).

¹⁰⁰For example, compare the following series: Seraglio, fol. 52 (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 31), and Vat. gr.

746, fol. 47; Seraglio, fol. 54 (Uspenskij, fig. 33), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 49, and Smyrna, fol. 18^v (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 28); Seraglio, fol. 64^v (Uspenskij, fig. 41), Vat. gr. 746, fol. 60^v (Uspenskij, fig. 42), and Seraglio, fol. 24 (Uspenskij, fig. 39); Vat. gr. 746, fol. 65, and Smyrna, fol. 26^v (Hesseling, fig. 47).



a. Fol. 92



b. Fol. 249

III. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 746

will mainly be confined to the *Seragliensis*. Early in its cycle two of the illuminators (Painters A and B) collaborated on gatherings, each working on a single *bifolium* at a time. Then, after gathering six, they began to work on a quire-by-quire basis. The benefits of the latter system seem to lie in the speed with which the miniatures could be completed. As Painter B's work in gathering eleven indicates, it was possible for an illuminator to sketch and then execute a number of miniatures at a time by working on the same paint layer, passing quickly from one picture to the next, yet with sufficient time for the individual layers to dry. The fact that early in the manuscript Painters A and B collaborated on single sheets suggests that illuminators began painting as soon as possible, proceeding at a pace slower than that of the scribe who soon outdistanced them so that it was possible for the painters eventually to begin working by quires. Since the scribe's style can be linked with that of other manuscripts which the Kokkinobaphos Master illuminated, it is possible that he began work later in the manuscript, at gathering eighteen, and perhaps intended to execute most of the cycle himself because he was also the scribe. Unfortunately, there

is no way to test this hypothesis. The case of Theophanes, the scribe and illuminator of the Melbourne Gospels (National Gallery of Victoria, cod. 710/5), at least shows that there were individuals who were highly competent in both fields of manuscript production.¹⁰¹

In the course of illustrating, it is again possible for errors to arise. Within the series of illustrations to Exodus in the Smyrna Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 are two consecutive double miniatures:¹⁰² the first shows Moses before the burning bush and removing his sandals, followed by the second, Moses' rod turning into a serpent and Moses speaking with Jethro. In transcribing these four scenes in the Seraglio Octateuch, the Kokkinobaphos Master made a mistake. He skipped the first two and painted the second two twice (figs. 26–28). I have illustrated these two miniatures to show, first, how

¹⁰¹ H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of About 1100 A.D.*, Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne, 1961); Spatharakis, *op. cit.* (note 55 *supra*), 76–78, fig. 43.

¹⁰² Vat. gr. 746, fols. 157 and 162^v (unpublished), and the Smyrna Octateuch, fols. 66 and 68 (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, figs. 156, 157).

closely the illuminators copy the model and, second, the effect that a slight change in scale can have on a miniaturist's work.

In all three Octateuchs there are two series of miniatures whose confused state—apparent only when the manuscripts are confronted—can be attributed to neither the scribes nor the painters; only the shorter of these two problematical series will be discussed here.¹⁰³ The confusion occurs in the illustration of chapters sixteen and seventeen of Exodus. The points of agreement that bracket the series are: the miracle of the quail and manna (figs. 14–16), and Joshua leading the army against Amalek while Aaron and Hur support the arms of Moses on the mountain overlooking the battlefield (Exod. 17:8–13).¹⁰⁴ Between these two scenes the Seraglio Octateuch has one framed miniature divided into two parts (fig. 32); above, Aaron fills a jar with manna while Moses and the Israelites look on (Exod. 16:33), and below, Moses strikes the rock at Horeb (Exod. 17:6). In the Smyrna Octateuch there are three framed miniatures (figs. 29, 30): first, Aaron places the omer of manna in a golden stamnos; second, Moses appeals to God while the Israelites look on; finally, Moses strikes the rock. The illustration of Moses speaking to God is not in the Seraglio Octateuch, and the compositions of the others are quite different. Vat. gr. 746 had neither of these scenes. Instead, on folio 201^v Moses and Joshua are shown in conversation (Exod. 17:9), hardly a complex composition.

At this point in the cycle there exists a fundamental similarity between at least the Smyrna and Seraglio Octateuchs, even if the compositions differ radically; the scribes knew that two rectangular miniatures illustrated the text, and they left approximately the same amount of space in both manuscripts. The differences in composition must arise because the miniatures in the model either had never been filled in or by the twelfth century were hopelessly damaged. In both cases it fell to the Kokkinobaphos Master—perhaps directed by some surviving inscriptions—to invent miniatures for the spaces. For the scene of Moses striking the rock in the Seraglio Octateuch (fig. 32), the illuminator transparently adapted a miniature that occurs slightly earlier in the cycle, that on folio 201 (fig. 31) showing Moses casting the tree into the

spring at Marah to relieve the water of its brackishness (Exod. 15:23–25). In itself, the illustration of the episode at Marah has a certain authority simply by virtue of its appearance in the same composition in all three Octateuchs.¹⁰⁵ In adapting it, the Kokkinobaphos Master has taken over not only the main lines of the composition and the poses of the figures, but also the architecture in the background to the left. The corresponding composition in the Smyrna Octateuch, an independent invention, derives from the depiction of Moses' forcing the Israelites to drink water polluted with gold from the calf (Exod. 32:20), though with changes that vaguely suggest the miracle of Michael at Chonae.¹⁰⁶ The other miniatures in this series surely rely on stock figure types.

The final step in the making of the Octateuchs—except, of course, the binding—was the addition of the inscriptions. It might seem logical if in the course of writing the text the scribes added the inscriptions, which would then serve as a further guide to the illuminators, or even if the illuminators themselves added them after the completion of the pictures. Neither of these possibilities, however, represents the actual course of work. It is obvious that the painters were not responsible for the inscriptions. In all three manuscripts there is not one instance of a change in miniature style that is paralleled by a change in the style of inscription. Figures 23 and 24, for example, show that in the Vat. gr. 746 the inscriptions were added by the scribes responsible for the text on that page. In fact, the changes in scribe are accompanied by changes in the inscriptions at precisely the same points. In the *Seragliensis* the handwriting style of the inscriptions is the same as that of the text and is just as homogeneous throughout the manuscript. That the inscriptions were added after the completion of the miniatures is indicated by several observations. In the Seraglio Octateuch, only two of the miniatures painted by the Kokkinobaphos Master are inscribed, even though the model surely had legends for most of these scenes. In a number of cases the inscriptions are written over the white or blue grounds painted by the illuminators.¹⁰⁷ Finally, in

¹⁰³ Vat. gr. 746, fol. 196 (unpublished); Smyrna, fol. 83 (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 181).

¹⁰⁴ The other is within the series of miniatures illustrating the life of Samson; any attempt at clarification must make use of all the Octateuchs, including Vat. gr. 747 and Vatopedi, cod. 602.

¹⁰⁵ Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 128; Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 185.

¹⁰⁶ Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 202; for references to the surviving examples of Michael at Chonae, see the art-historical comment of E. Kitzinger, in R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius," *DOP*, 21 (1967), 247 note 16.

¹⁰⁷ For example, the miniatures on fols. 11^v, 49, 50^v, and 52 (Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," figs. 1, 26, 29–30, 31).

all three manuscripts the inscriptions are time and again fitted around figures, landscape, or architecture in so careful a manner as to leave little doubt that they are the final addition to the scenes.¹⁰⁸

The inscriptions may be the source of considerable information. Unfortunately, though, in publishing the Smyrna Octateuch Hesseling allowed the miniatures to be cropped at the frames, with the result that any inscriptions added in the margins are now lost forever. Yet given the mechanical way in which the scribes and painters went about making the Octateuchs, it becomes worthwhile to compare even the least refined aspect of the inscriptions: whether they occur inside the miniature frame or outside it. Naturally, some variations must occur, sometimes because the illuminator has not left enough space. It is the major patterns that are important. Using the figure numbers from Hesseling's publication of the Smyrna Octateuch as a convenient way of identifying the scenes, I have drawn up a table indicating each time a change takes place in the location of the inscription in one or more of the manuscripts; "absent" and "present" refer only to occurrence within the frame or the unframed space within the block of text.

Inscriptions to the Miniatures
of the Twelfth-century Octateuchs

Miniature	Smyrna	Seraglio	Vat. gr. 746
1-22	Absent	Absent	Absent
23	Absent	Present	Present
24	Absent	Absent	Absent
25	Absent	Present	Absent
26-28	Absent	Present	Present
29	Absent	Absent	Absent
30	Absent	Present	Present
31	Absent	Present	Absent
32	Absent	Present	Present
33-37	Absent	Absent	Absent
38	Absent	Present	Present
39	Absent	Absent	Absent
40	Absent	Absent	Present
41	Absent	Absent	Absent
41a	Absent	Present	Present
42	Absent	Absent	Present
43-46	Absent	Present	Present
47	Absent	Absent	Absent
48	Absent	Present	Present
49	Absent	Present	Absent

¹⁰⁸See, for example, the miniatures in the Smyrna Octateuch on fols. 28^v, 31, 38^v, 52^v, and 196 (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, figs. 56, 64, 91, 127, and 255).

Miniature	Smyrna	Seraglio	Vat. gr. 746
50	Absent	Present	Present
51	Absent	Absent	Present
52-55	Absent	Spaces	Present
56	Present	Present	Present
57-58	Present	Spaces	Absent
59	Present	Present	Absent
60-63	Present	Absent	Absent
64-70	Present	Spaces	Present
71	Present	Space	Absent
72-75	Present	Space	Present
76	Present	Space	Absent
77	Present	Space	Present
78-106	Present	Present	Present
107-14	Present	Spaces	Present
115-16	Present	Present	Present
117-23	Present	Absent	Present
124	Present	Present	Present
125-54	Present	Absent	Present
155	Present	Absent	Absent
156-61	Present	Absent	Present
162	Present	Absent	Absent
163-81	Present	Absent	Present
182-85	Present	Absent	Absent
186-205	Present	Absent	Present
206	Absent	Absent	Absent
207-9	Present	Absent	Present
210	Absent	Absent	Absent
211-27	Present	Absent	Present
228-29	Present	Absent	missing from MS/ not illus- trated
230-31	Present	Absent	Present
232	Absent	Absent	Absent
233-43	Present	Absent	Present
244	Present	Absent	Absent
245-65	Present	Absent	Present
266	Absent	Absent	Present
267-300	Absent	Absent	Absent
301	Absent	Space	Absent
302-6	Present	Spaces	Present
307-33	Absent	Spaces	Absent
334	Present	Space	Absent

This sample is, of course, incomplete, since it does not account for the lacunae in the cycle of the Smyrna Octateuch. Nevertheless, it is sufficient to permit certain conclusions.

The obvious patterns of the location of the inscriptions in the three manuscripts mainly reflect the model. Two important exceptions must be pointed out. First, it is reasonable to suggest that

the lack of inscriptions in the Seraglio Octateuch from miniature 125 onward should be attributed to the incomplete state of the *Seragliensis* itself, not to the model; within this series the Smyrna Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 agree almost completely. Second, the agreement between the Seraglio Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 over the course of the first fifty-three miniatures means that some internal explanation must be sought for the lack of inscriptions to the corresponding miniatures in the Smyrna Octateuch. The reason becomes apparent upon reexamination of the bits of Septuagint text in Hesseling's reproductions. The point at which the inscriptions begin seems to coincide with the change in style of handwriting; thus, the first scribe did not return to add the titles to the miniatures (or he added them in the margins). Furthermore, there is reason to believe that there must have been some kind of break in the model—perhaps between volumes, or at least between gatherings—at just the point where the scribes change in the *Smyrnaeus*. The one unfinished gathering in the Seraglio Octateuch (no. eleven) contains a series of four spaces that precede the miniatures that Painter B left partially complete; the first of the miniatures on which the illuminator was working corresponds with the first one inscribed in the Smyrna Octateuch. It is now possible to explain the curious fact of Painter B's having begun work in the middle of the quire: the model with the four miniatures was in the hands of Painter A at the time. The exemplar's division in some way at this point is surely indicated.

It has been argued that the three twelfth-century Octateuchs are independent copies of the same lost work.¹⁰⁹ One might legitimately question, nevertheless, whether one of the manuscripts did not serve as the model for the other two. The lacunae in the Seraglio Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 remove them from consideration; this leaves the Smyrna Octateuch, probably the earliest of the three, as the only candidate. The *Smyrnaeus*, however, must also be disqualified on the grounds of its lack of inscriptions to the first fifty-five miniatures. Had the scribes of the Seraglio Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 been using it as their model, it is most unlikely that they would have independently chosen to locate the inscriptions in so uniform a fashion. Clearly, the model whose titles are so distinctly reflected by the copies is now lost.

The final point to be made from the inscriptions regards the influence of the Joshua Roll on the lost

source of the Octateuchs. As reconstructed by Professor Weitzmann,¹¹⁰ the cycle of the Joshua Roll was copied from miniatures in an Octateuch; later, the Roll itself came to exercise an immediate influence on the model used for the three twelfth-century manuscripts. The reasons and mechanics of this somewhat convoluted process are difficult to imagine; nevertheless, the evidence presented by the inscriptions leaves little doubt concerning at least the influence of the Joshua Roll. The Roll has no explanatory titles. Therefore, if it was used as a model for the Joshua scenes, the miniatures copied from it would have no inscriptions, and this is exactly the case. The inscriptions in both the *Smyrnaeus* and Vat. gr. 746 stop precisely at the scene of the death of Moses, the very episode that Professor Weitzmann has argued, on the basis of style and composition, began the Roll and the scene which was located on a sheet that has since come detached and been lost.¹¹¹ On the other hand, the point at which the inscriptions again begin in the Octateuchs, at miniature no. 302,¹¹² is actually eight scenes after the one Weitzmann considers to have been the final episode illustrated in the Roll. Perhaps by the thirteenth century, the Joshua Roll was already lacking one or more sheets at the end.¹¹³ It is, I believe, possible to use the twelfth-century Octateuchs as a source of evidence for dating the model that used the Joshua Roll.

In all three Octateuchs there is a certain eleventh-century flavor to the miniatures; but even more importantly, from time to time specific elements that cannot be associated with the styles of the twelfth-century illuminators appear. Since these elements are scattered, almost at random, they were probably picked up from the model. For example, in the miniature on folio 130 of Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 9), showing the brothers before Joseph (Gen. 44:14–34), the heads are designed in a markedly different manner from the triangular type then current

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 91. During this entire series, the Seraglio Octateuch has no inscriptions; see the Vat. gr. 746 and Vatopedi, cod 602 (Huber, *op. cit.*, [note 5 *supra*], figs. 63, 64; Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*, figs. 92, 93).

¹¹²Vat. gr. 746, fol. 461 (*Il Rotulo di Giosuè* [note 6 *supra*], pl. H), and Smyrna, fol. 234 (Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 302).

¹¹³The apportionment of the territory in the Holy Land seems a fitting end to the story of Joshua's campaigns. Whereas from the lack of inscriptions in the twelfth-century Octateuchs one might infer a greater length to the Roll, it is certain that these scenes were no longer available when the illuminator of the Vatopedi Octateuch copied the Roll. This fact is verified, as Professor Weitzmann points out, by the change in the nature of the backgrounds in the thirteenth-century Octateuch.

¹⁰⁹Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*, 7, 38.

among the illuminators. This type is very nearly egg-shaped. Furthermore, the faces are dominated by the large and staring eyes set into sockets defined by the concentric ridge of the brow above and a wide curving shadow below. In their proportions the heads tend to dominate; again, just the opposite is true of the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master and, generally, that of his collaborators as well. These traits, which must be ones of the model, can be traced to another Constantinopolitan painter active roughly one century earlier, the Master of the Venice Pseudo-Oppian.¹¹⁴ His work in the Vatican Book of Kings (Vat. gr. 333) as well as in the eponymous Marc. gr. 479 is strongly marked by just these elements. They are ones he brings to works of various types on which, in recopying, he places his own, somewhat idiosyncratic stamp. Consider in comparison his miniature on folio 13^v of the Venice *Cynegetica* (fig. 36); it illustrates a pregnant Laconian woman contemplating the images of ancient heroes.¹¹⁵ Although subtle, the similarities are undeniable. In one miniature in the Vat. gr. 746, that on folio 242^v (fig. 34), the influence of the Pseudo-Oppian Master appears with extreme clarity, particularly in the figures at the far right and left.

If the model for the twelfth-century Octateuchs was made around the middle of the eleventh century and the Pseudo-Oppian Master was involved in its production, then traces of his style should be present in the other manuscripts also. This is certainly true of the work of Painter A and of the miniature on folio 217 (fig. 33) of the Seraglio Octateuch, in which the large oval heads and wide eyes are suggestive of what can now be taken as a working hypothesis. One way of testing this hypothesis, and one divorced from matters of style, would be to search the work of the Pseudo-Oppian Master for traces of Octateuch influence and, conversely, to examine the Octateuchs for compositional elements that could only be explained through contact with this illuminator. In the *Cynegetica*, at lines 104–6 of book III, the poet writes: “. . .when their fatherland is sacked with the spear and burnt with raging fire, women fall upon their children’s necks and loudly weep.”¹¹⁶ The illustra-

tion to these lines, on folio 42^v,¹¹⁷ accords only roughly with the text and departs from it in a significant detail. As a parallel, the thematically related flight of Lot and his family comes to mind, but the composition of this scene in the Octateuchs bears no striking resemblance to that of the *Cynegetica* miniature.¹¹⁸ This is not disturbing because another and far more famous flight scene, that of the Jews from Egypt, would probably have come first to the mind of any Byzantine illuminator. In the Octateuch rendering of this subject, which unfolds over the course of several miniatures, one important detail occurs which explains the divergence of text and picture in the *Cynegetica*. In the Octateuchs the children are shown carried on their mothers’ backs.¹¹⁹ It must be admitted, though, that most Byzantine painters would have been aware of at least this part of the Octateuch cycle, since the Crossing of the Red Sea is a standard miniature in one of the most popular of illustrated texts, the Psalter.¹²⁰

As a convincing supplement to the parallel in flight scenes a less common subject is needed, and the miniature on folio 217 of the Seraglio Octateuch provides it (fig. 33).¹²¹ The Seraglio composition is the same as those in the Smyrna Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746, with the single exception of the inscription, lacking in the *Seragliensis*, that reads: “Thunder, the sounds of the trumpet and the roar from heaven” (cf. Exod. 19:61). The text, Exod. 19:16–19, relates how God appears to the Jews from Mt. Sinai, but fails to mention the creatures that hover in the clouds in all three miniatures.¹²² These animals recall those of the illustration on folio 11 of Marc. gr. 479 (fig. 35), where they have some relevance to the poem, *Cyn.* I.316–25: “Yet another lovely breed [of horse] thou mayst see, the dappled conspicuous breed which men call the Orynx, either because they flourish on the grassy hills, or because they are very eager to mate with their

¹¹⁴For this illuminator, see J. Anderson, “Cod. Vat. Gr. 463 and an Eleventh-Century Byzantine Painting Center,” *DOP*, 32 (1978), 177–96.

¹¹⁵*Cyn.* I.358–68, ed. and trans. A. Mair, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, Loeb (London, 1928), 38–39.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 120–21.

¹¹⁷K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 4 (Princeton, 1951), fig. 158.

¹¹⁸Contrast, for example, the illustration in the Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 32 (Hesseling, *L’Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 67).

¹¹⁹Compare, for example, the illustration in the Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 81^v (Hesseling, *L’Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 179).

¹²⁰Where the Crossing of the Red Sea is used as the illustration to the Exodus Ode; see K. Weitzmann, “The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension,” *DOP*, 30 (1976), 69–71.

¹²¹This miniature has been reproduced in color; see K. Eller and D. Wolf, *Mosaiken, Fresken, Miniaturen: Das Kultbild in der Ostkirche* (Munich, 1967), pl. 43.

¹²²These creatures are not present in the otherwise similar miniature on fol. 98 of Vat. gr. 747.

females. In the case of the Orynxes there are two species of many patterned beauty. One species are inscribed on neck and broad hairy back with a series of long stripes, *even as the swift tigers, the offspring of rapid Zephyrus*. The others are adorned all about with densely set round spots, like those of leopards. . . .¹²³ In reproducing the entire textual source for the miniature, I have italicized the line (line 323) of particular importance. Why the illuminator chose a mountain habitat is difficult to say. In general form, the miniature recalls one of the creation scenes in the Octateuchs, like that on folio 32^v of the *Seragliensis* with the land surrounded by water filled with fish.¹²⁴ To catch the poet's allusion to the tiger, the offspring of the fertile West Wind, the miniaturist paints a grisaille sky with cloud formations suggesting a tiger, an eagle, and other creatures.

I would contend, therefore, that when painting the Octateuch miniature the Pseudo-Oppian Master used the clouds suggesting animals that he recalled from his having illuminated the *Cynegetica*. His motivation for doing so may have been sparked by the substance of the Octateuch text: the appearance of God to the Jews. To some extent, the animals in the clouds recall the figures of the tetramorph. Yet an awareness of how mechanically at least the twelfth-century Octateuchs were replicated leads to skepticism of any explanation that relies on gratuitous invention; would any Byzantine illuminator, no matter how creative, have added elements he thought appropriate to a scene? It is necessary to go one step further and to suggest that the entire composition is an eleventh-century invention of the Pseudo-Oppian Master. When inventing the scene he relied on a familiar composition, the Transfiguration. Compare the poses of the Jews with those of the Apostles in the apse mosaic of St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai.¹²⁵ The illuminator has made a clever pastiche that becomes a traditional composition.

The analysis of style and composition, therefore, lends precision to the conjecture made on the basis of the cycle's general manner of presentation: the twelfth-century Octateuchs were made from a model produced around the middle of the eleventh century. In another respect, this date for the

model is reasonable, perhaps even to be expected. In the Middle Byzantine period the greatest interest in dense, interlinear cycles of narrative illustration occurs in the second half of the eleventh century. Examples range from presumed revivals of earlier works (the Vatican Book of Kings, the Paris Gospels, gr. 74) to totally new inventions (the manuscripts of Barlaam and Joasaph) and cycles possibly earlier but significantly augmented at this time (the Venice *Cynegetica*). Of potentially considerable interest to the history of the Octateuchs is the evidence for a copy of the Book of Kings and an Octateuch having possibly been in the same library, or at least copied by the same illuminator, in the eleventh century.

The nature of the relationships among the Octateuchs can now be examined. The three manuscripts are closely related by the circumstances of their production and by the presence in two of them of the hand of the same illuminator. The major issue—which may never be satisfactorily explained—is exactly how the illuminators were organized. Those who collaborated with the Kokkinobaphos Master on the Smyrna Octateuch do not seem to have helped in the execution of the *Seragliensis*, and none of them paints in a style that suggests long association with the figure who in his own time was clearly recognized as an outstanding artist. The major obstacle to proposing even a hypothetical organization is the lack of testimony concerning the means of manuscript production during the Middle Byzantine period. Nearly contemporary information from Western sources might offer satisfactory models; and thirteenth-century Paris with its lively book trade for students, professionals, and bibliophiles, is comparatively rich in material. At the extremes stand two unlikely types of production. One, which is too simple, is the single scribe-painter responsible for the entire work. The other is one of complete specialization, with the manufacture of the materials, the writing of the text, its rubrication and illumination, and finally the binding all being in the hands of individual entrepreneurs.¹²⁶ Clearly, there is too much continuity between the Octateuchs to allow for so fragmented a system. The inscriptions in particular argue against it. There exists another scheme of organization which is discussed by Branner with particular reference to the thirteenth-century

¹²³ *Oppian*, ed. Mair, 34–35.

¹²⁴ Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," fig. 18.

¹²⁵ G. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor, n.d.), pl. ciii.

¹²⁶ I rely here on the remarks of R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), 7.

Moralized Bibles.¹²⁷ In the illumination of these monumental undertakings a main group or workshop received the commission and then proceeded to contract some of the work to another group. Such arrangements, according to Branner, were neither rare nor necessarily lasting, although some groups apparently did collaborate regularly with others.

The explanation that may best conform to the evidence is that of an illuminator, working with a strictly limited number of colleagues, who engaged outside assistance in the execution of large commissions.¹²⁸ The alternative is a major scriptorium to which were attached many illuminators, at least six during the period of the Kokkinobaphos Mas-

ter's activity on the Smyrna and Seraglio Octateuchs. No determination can be made until the elements of stylistic continuity in the Vat. gr. 746 have been fully explored. Thus, it is the careers of the collaborators and followers that must provide further information. Their work, however, has already served a significant purpose; it has shown that the style of Vat. Urb. gr. 2, Paris. gr. 1208, and Vat. gr. 1162 is not a general one practiced by a group of illuminators, but rather is the creation of a single artist.

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APPENDIX

Location and attribution of the miniatures in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8. "Miniature" here means a single, framed unit, and one which may be further subdivided into two or more distinct fields. Included is a notation of the main text contained in each quire; versification of the Septuagint is after the 1901 Cambridge edition of Henry B. Swete. When a verse continues across a quire division, it should be assumed that there is continuity; nevertheless, an asterisk is used to signify the beginning of a verse immediately at the point of interruption of the preceding quire. There are no leaves missing from the manuscript. Repetitions, word divisions, and variant readings across quires are, however, specifically noted.

Symbols

- = hair side of the parchment
 - A, B = miniatures attributed to the two, otherwise unattested painters
 - KM = miniature attributed to the Master of the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos
 - ? = miniature of questionable attribution, occasionally owing to heavy damage
 - sp = space left by the scribe though miniature was never executed
 - r = repair patch has been added within the body of the text
- Abbreviated citations of comparative illustrations, by the figure numbers, in published editions
- AthH = Mt. Athos, Vatopedi Monastery Library, cod. 602: P. Huber, *Bild und Botschaft, Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (Zurich-Freiburg i.B., 1973).

SmyH = Smyrna, Evangelical School, cod. A.1: D.-C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Codices graeci et latini, Suppl. VI (Leiden, 1909).

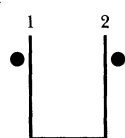
Binding: Early in this century the manuscript was in a ragged state. G. Deissman (*Forschungen und Funde im Serail* [Berlin-Leipzig, 1933], 46) reports that the leaves were rotted at the corners and that only the rear cover, made of wood, remained; a fair idea of the state of the manuscript at this time can be gained from the reproduction in plate 1 of Th. Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople," *IRAIK*, 12 (1907) (hereafter Uspenskij, "L'Octateuch du Sérail"). In 1939 the Octateuch was restored and bound into three volumes. Professor Kurt Weitzmann has informed me in a letter dated 20 June 1975 that permission was given to Princeton University to have the manuscript photographed on condition that it assumed the responsibility for the restoration and rebinding. This work was carried out by the Berlin restorer H. Ibscher, who rebuilt the corners of each of the leaves using new pieces of parchment. The paper flyleaves were certainly added at this time; they bear the watermark device of the letter "A" over the letters "H" and "F."

The quires appear never to have been numbered; the letters and Roman numerals are, therefore, my reference figures, made after an examination of the manuscript carried out in the summer of 1979.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 13–14 and *passim*.

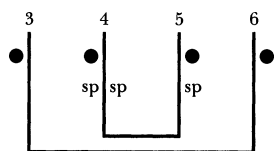
¹²⁸ The Byzantine parallel that comes to mind is that of the Menologium of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613); see I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 245–76.

(Volume one)



A

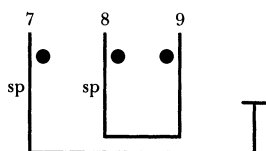
Unbound parchment *bifolium*, seriously rotted at the corners and containing worm holes; unruled and with no text. Leaves were unnumbered in the time of Uspenskij. On folio 1 is the number "8" written in blue crayon; on folio 2^v is the library stamp. A comparable protective sheet of parchment occurs at the end of volume three. At present, gathering A is followed by a paper sheet; this is probably not the intended order.



I

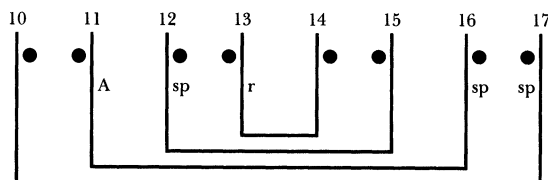
Text: Isaac Sebastocrator's paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas*, edited by Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," 2–9, but as on folios 1–4. Since, by his numeration, folio 10 designates the leaf currently so numbered, gathering A must in his time have followed gathering II.

Miniatures: Spaces were left by the scribe for three miniatures—five in all for the complete paraphrase; there are no grounds for conjecturing what these miniatures may have been planned to look like.



II

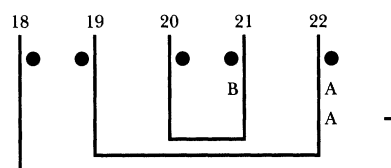
Text: completion of the paraphrase; see Uspenskij, "L'Octateuque du Sérail," 9–11.



III

Text: *Letter of Aristeas* to verse 203 (to ἀνδρῶν), ed. H. Thackeray, in H. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, ed. R. Ottley (Cambridge, 1914), 586.

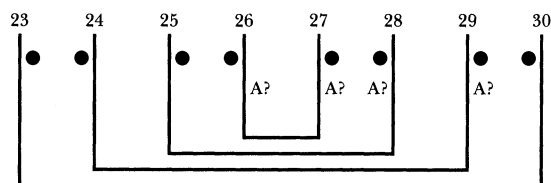
Miniatures: Folio 13 has been repaired with a patch of parchment; perhaps the miniature here, on the verso, had been finished, but there is no offprint to verify this.



IV

Text: *Letter of Aristeas* from verse 203* to end on folio 22; folio 22^v: Theodoret of Cyrus, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, preface (PG, 80, 76A-B).

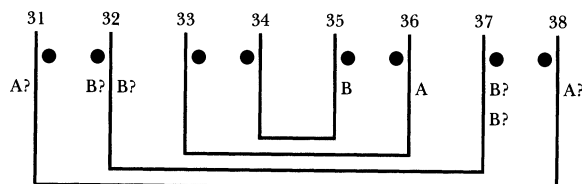
Miniatures: The participation of two of the painters in this quire seems a certainty.



V

Text: Start of the Septuagint, to Gen. 1:19.

Miniatures: The attributions here are difficult to make. The miniatures on folios 28 and 29^v are non-figural, and the palette is restricted in those on folios 26^v and 27^v. I tentatively ascribe the miniature on folio 26^v to Painter A because of the similarities in facial type and articulation to those of his miniature on folio 22^v. In the miniature on folio 27^v, the personification of day seems more in the style of A than of B, in part owing to the sharp shadow under the eye, which compares well with this feature in his miniature on folio 36^v, and to the generally soft modeling.

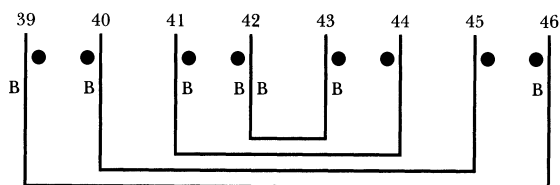


VI

Text: Gen. 1:20–2:7.

Miniatures: The collaboration of Painters A and B in this quire seems assured by the miniatures on folios 35^v and 36^v. The extensive landscape in each should help in sorting out the others, especially the non-figural miniatures. Although the plants and trees are all of the same basic type—no doubt reproducing the foliage in the model—the exact treatment varies. Painter B relies less on high-

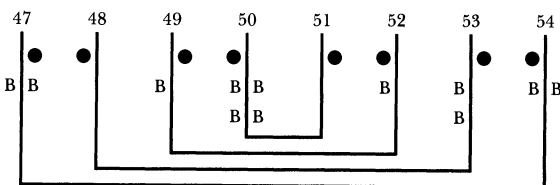
lights for the hills, and his plants are drawn with a thinner line, a trait that compares well with his methods of drawing figures. The major problem of this quire is the style of the scenes on the leaf conjugate with 32, namely, the two on folio 37^v. They bear an unmistakable resemblance to the scene on folio 36^v, and it is difficult not to attribute them to Painter A. Nevertheless, on the basis of similarities with the miniatures on folios 42^v, 56^v, and, particularly, folio 50, I have tentatively given them to B. The foliage of the scene on folio 36^v compares well with that on folios 31 and 38—but unfavorably with that of the two scenes on folio 37^v; at least in this aspect—the backgrounds—37^v and 38^v can be said to have been executed by different hands. Finally, a comparison of the cycles in the Smyrna Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 indicates that the problem cannot be solved through appeal to influence of the model. Further information, though, can be derived from gathering VII.



VII

Text: Gen. 2:8–3:13.

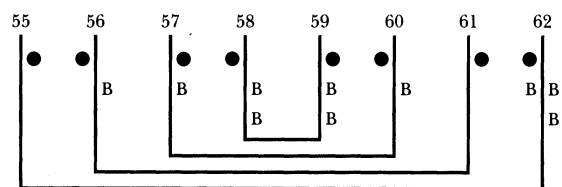
Miniatures: Sheet 42 + 43 is crucial to the early attributions. The two miniatures on its hair side are typical of the work of Painter B and compare favorably with his miniature on folio 49; additionally significant are the linear foliage and lack of interest in painting the bunches of leaves on the trees. The one scene on the flesh side, on folio 42^v, is of the slightly different manner of the painter, but it accords with his Cain and Abel miniature on folio 50 as well as the two on folio 37^v.



VIII

Text: Gen. 3:14–6:5.

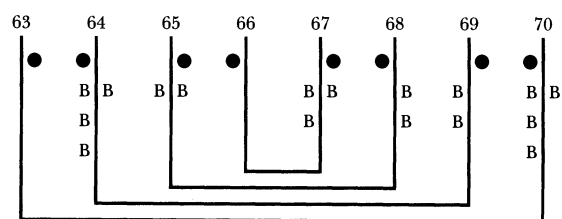
Miniatures: The miniatures on folios 52 and 53 are painted on a white ground.



IX

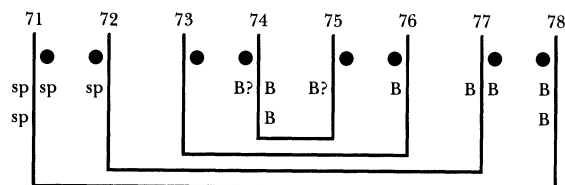
Text: Gen. 6:6–9:24.

Miniatures: The miniatures on folios 57^v, 59^v, 60^v, and 62^{r-v} are all badly abraded. The miniature on folio 56^v has a white ground.



X

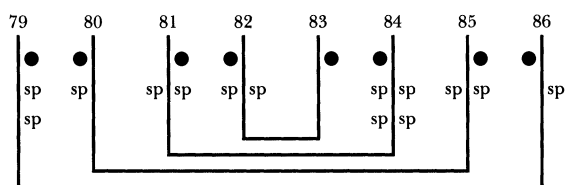
Text: Gen. 9:25–14:11 (to [αὐτῶν, καί]).



XI

Text: Gen. 14:11*–18:20.

Miniatures: The partially finished quire with work attributed to Painter B discussed *supra*, pp. 88–89. The four spaces on folios 71 and 72 correspond with the miniatures in the Smyrna Octateuch on folios 27^v (a and b) and 28 (a and b) (SmyH 52–55) and those in the Vat. gr. 746 on folios 67 (a and b), 67^v and 68. Of the remaining work, none seems to have been totally finished. The miniatures on folios 74^v (a and b), 76, 77, and 78 (a and b) are those most nearly finished, except for the areas of flesh and perhaps some detailing of the garments; that on folio 74 is considerably less finished, although some color has been added to Abraham's garments. Folio 75 has only a drawing in dark ink.



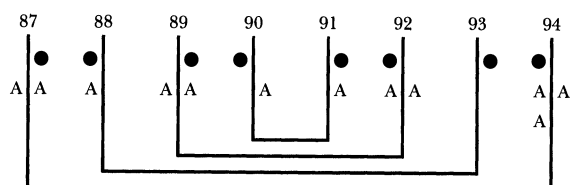
XII

Text: Gen. 18:21–21:34 (conjecture, leaf damaged).

Miniatures: A Series of fourteen spaces for miniatures with neither sketches nor any other indication of work in progress. The blanks correspond with the miniatures in the three other Octateuchs in the following manner:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747
[79 ^v a]	31 (SmyH 64)	75	39 ^v
[b]	31 ^v a (SmyH 65)	75 ^v	40a
[80]	b (SmyH 66)	76a	b
[81]	32a (SmyH 67)	b	40 ^v a
[81 ^v]	b (SmyH 68)	77	b
82	32 ^v a (SmyH 69)	77 ^v a	41a
82 ^v	b (SmyH 70)	b	b
84a	33 (SmyH 71)	78 ^v	41 ^v
b	33 ^v a (SmyH 72)	79	42a
84 ^v a	b (SmyH 73)	79 ^v	b
b	c (SmyH 74)	80a	c
85	34a (SmyH 75)	b	43a
85 ^v	b (SmyH 76)	80 ^v	b
86 ^v	34 ^v a (SmyH 77)	81	43 ^v a

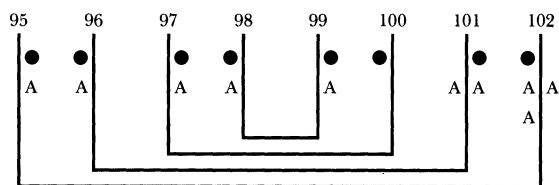
Of the spaces in the Seraglio Octateuch, that on folio 84, the first one, a, is noteworthy by being a large square; the corresponding miniature in the other manuscripts is a nearly square, double miniature.



XIII

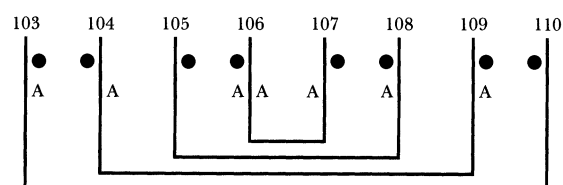
Text: Gen. 22:1 (conjecture, leaf damaged)–25:.

Miniatures: Beginning of the series executed solely by Painter A.



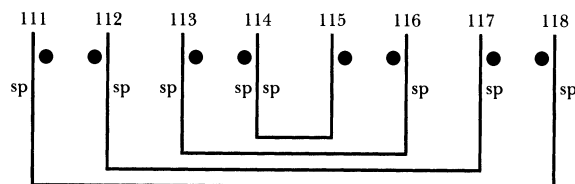
XIV

Text: Gen. 25:15–28:15 (to πορευθῆς).



XV

Text: Gen. 28:15*–31:13 (to στήλην).



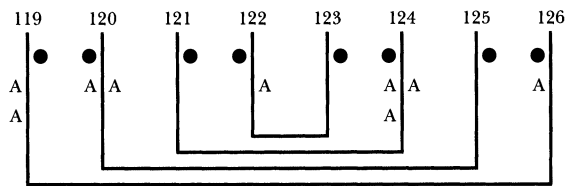
XVI

Text: Gen. 31:13*–35:16 (to Γάδεο).

Miniatures: The spaces left by the scribe correspond with the miniatures in the other Octateuchs in the following manner:

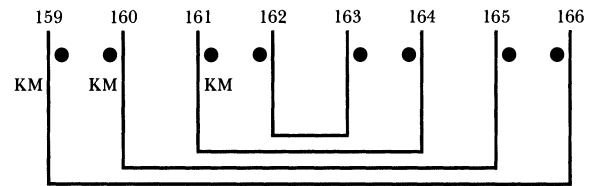
Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747
111	45 (SmyH 107)	103	53 ^v
112 ^v	45 ^v (SmyH 108)	105 ^v	54
113	46 (SmyH 109)	106	54 ^v a
114	46 ^v a (SmyH 110)	108	b
114 ^v	b (SmyH 111)	108 ^v	55a
116 ^v	47 (SmyH 112)	109 ^v	b
117 ^v	47 ^v a (SmyH 113)	110	55 ^v
118 ^v	b (SmyH 114)	111 ^v	56

The space in folio 114 of the Seraglio Octateuch is slightly higher than the others in this group; a double miniature of similar proportions occurs in Vat. gr. 746 and the Smyrna Octateuch at this point.



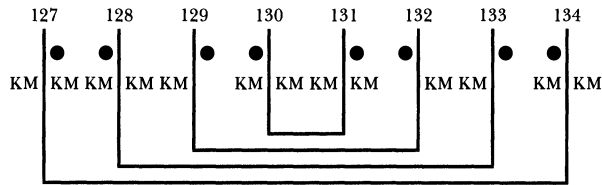
XVII

Text: Gen. 35:16–39:5.



XXII

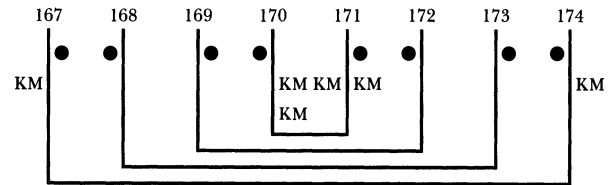
Text: Exod. 2:15*–4:14 (to αὐτός σοι).



XVIII

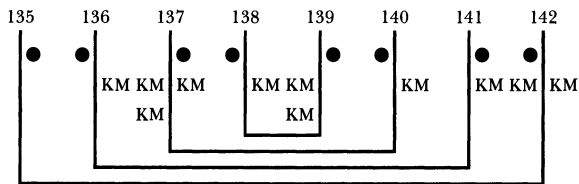
Text: Gen. 39:6–44:2 (to καὶ τήν).

Miniatures: Beginning of the series of miniatures attributed to the Master of the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos.



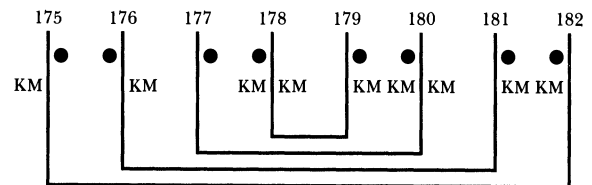
XXIII

Text: Exod. 4:14*–7:9.



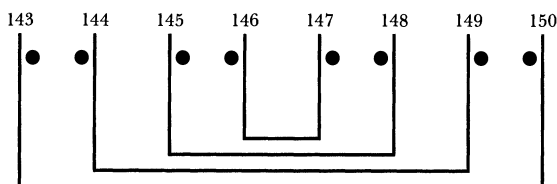
XIX

Text: Gen. 44:2*–49:4 (to ἐκζέσης).



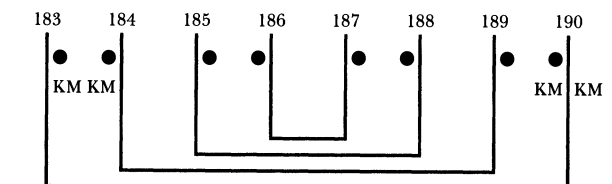
XXIV

Text: Exod. 7:10–10:14 (to αὐτήν).



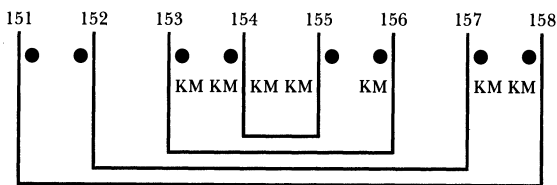
XX

Text: Gen. 49:4*–18.



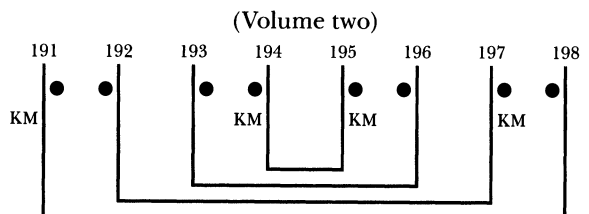
XXV

Text: Exod. 10:14*–12:38.



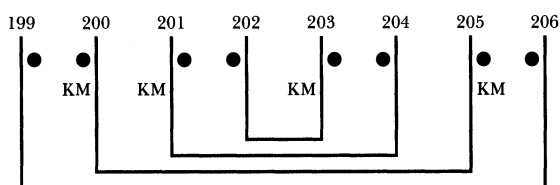
XXI

Text: Gen. 49:19–Exod. 2:15 (to ἀνελεῖν Μωυσῆς); Exodus begins on folio 155^v.



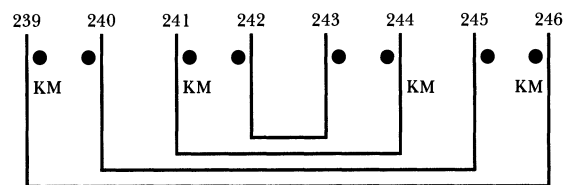
XXVI

Text: Exod. 12:39–15:7 (to ὑπεναντίας).



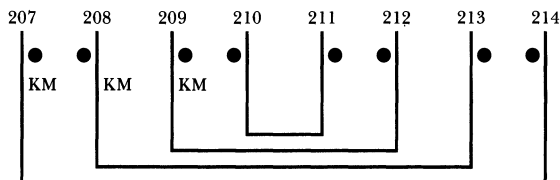
XXVII

Text: Exod. 15:7*-17:10 (to αὐτῷ Μωυσῇ).



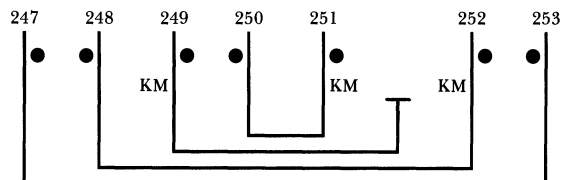
XXXII

Text: Exod. 27:7*-29:10 (to μαρτυροῦ).



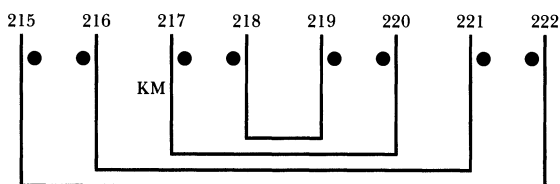
XXVIII

Text: Exod. 17:10*-20:6.



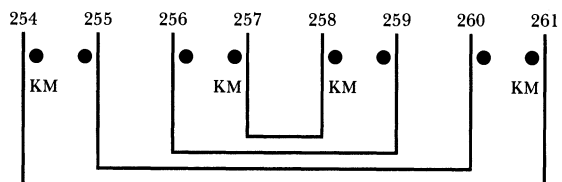
XXXIII

Text: Exod. 29:10*-32:14 (to τῆς κακίας = variant); there is no break in the text between folios 251 and 252.



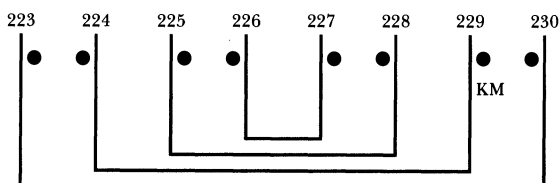
XXIX

Text: Exod. 20:7-22:16 (to Ἑάν).



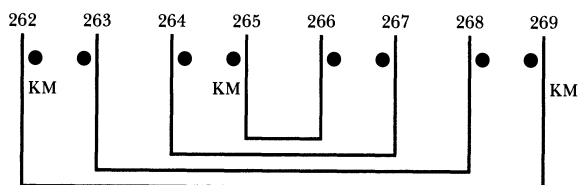
XXXIV

Text: Exod. 32:14*-37:13 (to πενήντα πῆχεων. τὸ κατὰ νότον καὶ οἱ = variant).



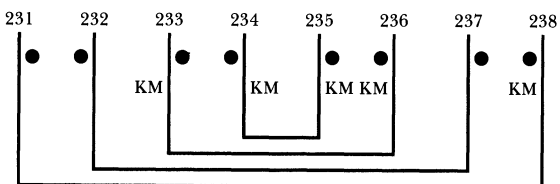
XXX

Text: Exod. 22:16*-24:18.



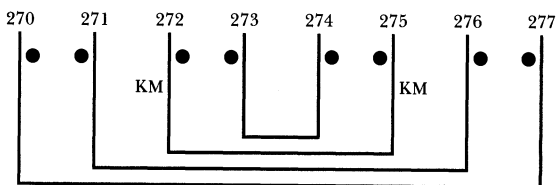
XXXV

Text: Exod. 37:13 (from στύλοι αὐτῶν τρεῖς)-Lev. 4:3 (to ἁμαρτίας); Leviticus begins on folio 265^v.



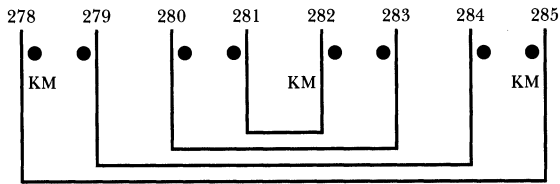
XXXI

Text: Exod. 25:1-27:7 (to εἰσάξεις).



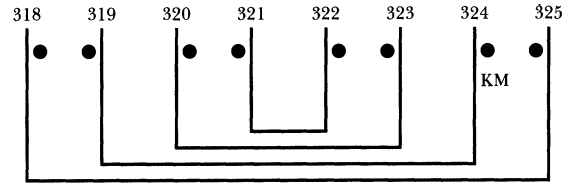
XXXVI

Text: Lev. 4:3*-10:1 (to θυμίαμα).



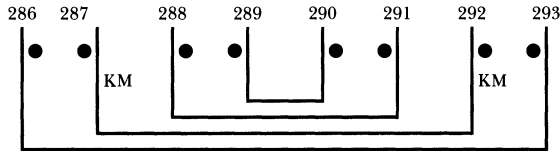
XXXVII

Text: Lev. 10:1*–13:49 (to ἐστίν).



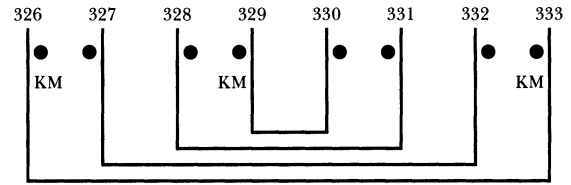
XLII

Text: Num. 1:44*–5:19 (to γυναῖκι Εἰ μή).



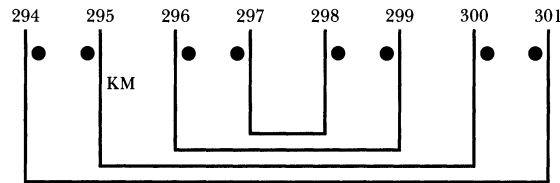
XXXVIII

Text: Lev. 13:49*–16:3.



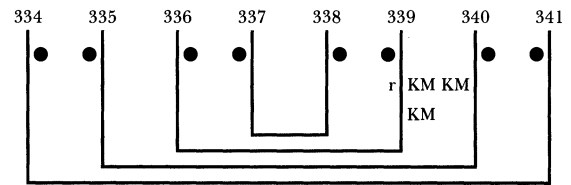
XLIII

Text: Num. 5:19*–8:16 (to τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ).



XXXIX

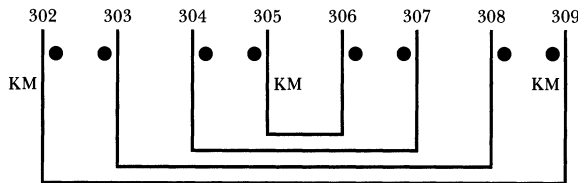
Text: Lev. 16:4–20:27.



XLIV

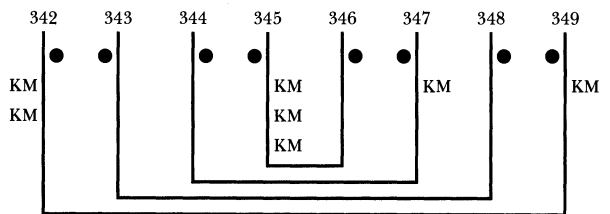
Text: Num. 8:16*–13:5.

Miniatures: The miniature cut out of folio 339 was comparable to that on folio 331 of Vat. gr. 746 and folio 158 of the Smyrna Octateuch (SmyH 224).



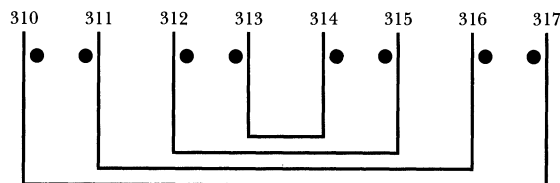
XL

Text: Lev. 21:1–25:25 (to ἀποδώσεται).



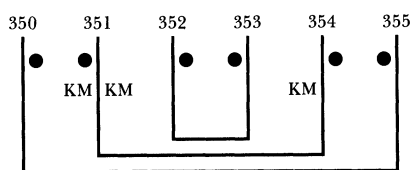
XLV

Text: Num. 13:6–16:34 (to κύνηφ).



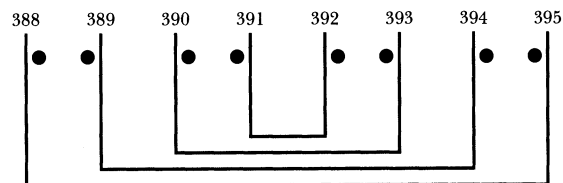
XLI

Text: Lev. 25:25*–Num. 1:44 (to καί); Numbers begins on folio 316.



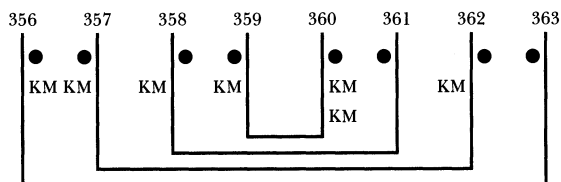
XLVI

Text: Num. 16:34*–19:16 (to νεκροῦ), in regular ternion.



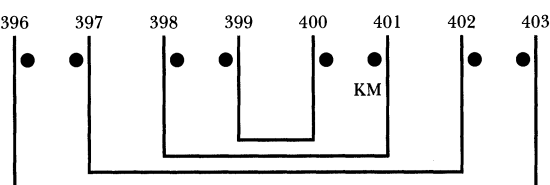
LI

Text: Num. 35:8*–Deut. 2:22 (to Ἡσαὺ τοῖς); Deuteronomy begins on folio 391^v.



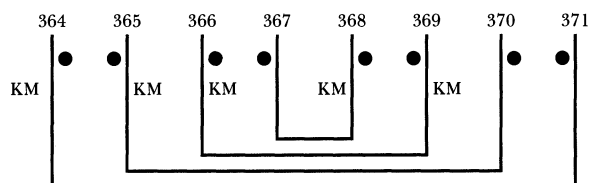
XLVII

Text: Num. 19:16*–22:33 (to ἐκεῖνην δὲ περιε-).



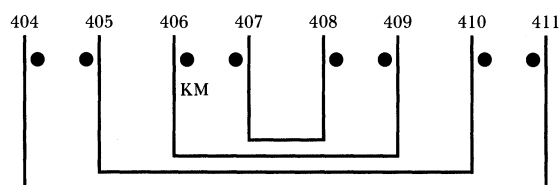
LII

Text: Deut. 2:22*–5:31 (to αὐτούς).



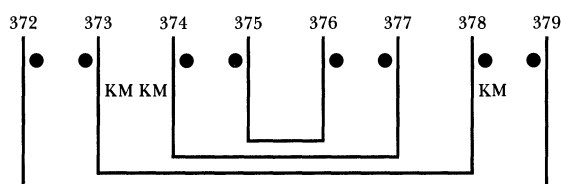
XLVIII

Text: Num. 22:33 (from ποιησάμην)–26:29 (to Χόβεϛ, δῆμος).



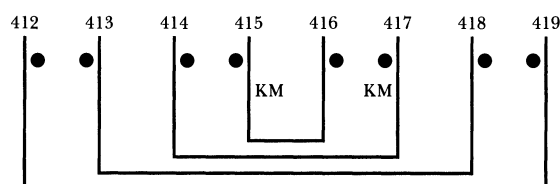
LIII

Text: Deut. 5:31*–10:7 (to ἀπό).



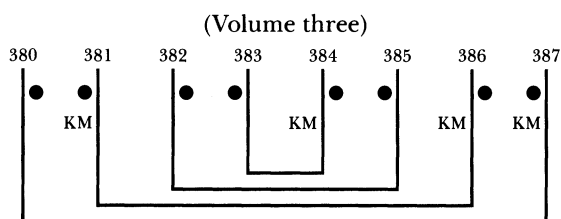
XLIX

Text: Num. 26:39 (from δῆμος ὁ Χοβερεῖ)–31:6 (to Μωυσῆς).



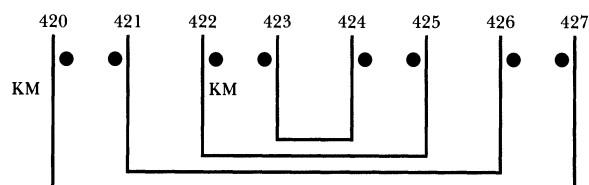
LIV

Text: Deut. 10:7*–14:10.



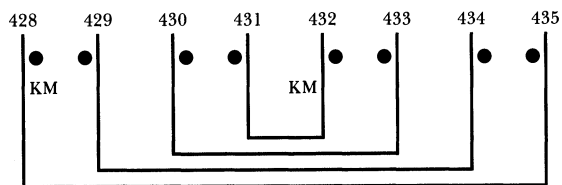
L

Text: Num. 31:6*–35:8 (to κληρονομήσουσιν).



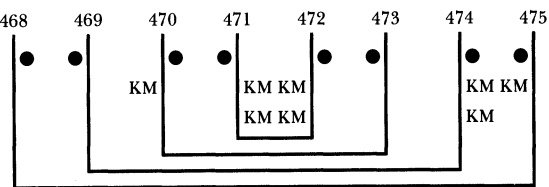
LV

Text: Deut. 14:11–19:10 (to σοι ἐν).



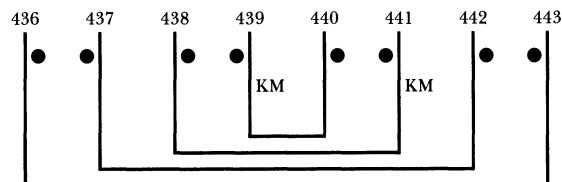
LVI

Text: Deut. 19:10*–22:25 (to βιασάμενος).



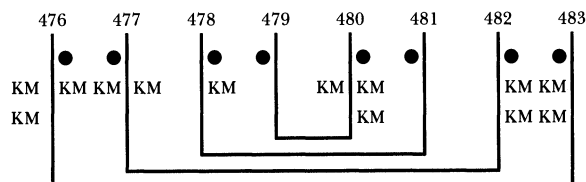
LXI

Text: Deut. 33:13*–Josh. 2:22 (to ὁρεινήν); Joshua begins on folio 472.



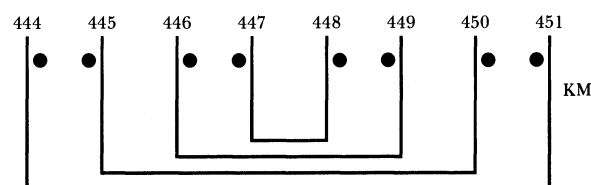
LVII

Text: Deut. 22:25*–27:3 (conjecture, leaf badly damaged).



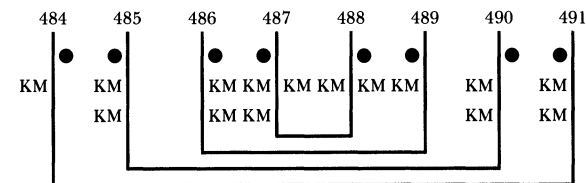
LXII

Text: Josh. 2:22*–7:7 (to ἡμᾶς).



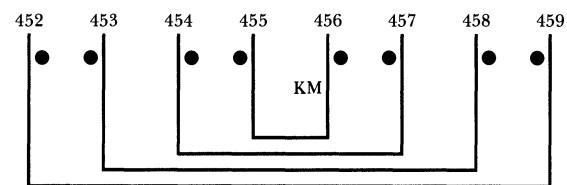
LVIII

Text: Deut. 27:4 (conjecture, leaf badly damaged)–29:19.



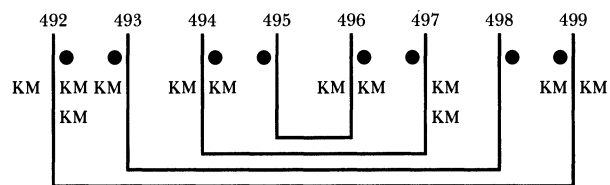
LXIII

Text: Josh. 7:7*–10:37 (varies significantly).



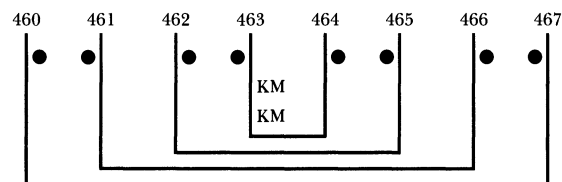
LIX

Text: Deut. 29:30–32:22 (to κάτω κατα-).



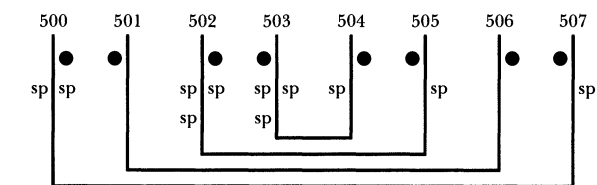
LXIV

Text: Josh. 10:38 (conjecture, leaf badly damaged)–17:9 (to διέξοδος).



LX

Text: Deut. 32:22 (from φάγεται)–33:13 (to εἶπεν).



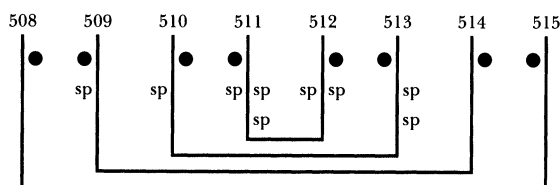
LXV

Text: Josh. 17:9*–22:15 (to Γάδ).

Miniatures: From this point onward the miniature cycle is unfinished; the blanks in this gathering correspond with the finished miniatures in the other Octateuchs in the following manner:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
500	233 ^a (SmyH 300)	460a	230	380 (AthH 105)
500 ^v	b (SmyH 301)	b	230 ^v	381 (AthH 106)
502a	234a (SmyH 302)	461a	231a	383a-c (AthH 107–109)
b	b (SmyH 303)	b	b	383 ^a (AthH 110)
502 ^v	234 ^a (SmyH 304)	461 ^a	231 ^a	b (AthH 111)
503a	b (SmyH 305)	b	b	384 (AthH 112)
b	c (SmyH 306)	c	c	384 ^v (AthH 113)
503 ^v	235a (SmyH 307)	462	232a	385 (AthH 114)
504	b (SmyH 308)	463	b	387 ^v (AthH 115)
505 ^v	235 ^v (SmyH 309)	465	232 ^v	392 (AthH 116)
507 ^v	237 (SmyH 310)	466	234	394 (AthH 117)

The proportions of the spaces on folios 502(a) and 503 (a and b) accord well with those of the miniatures in the other manuscripts.



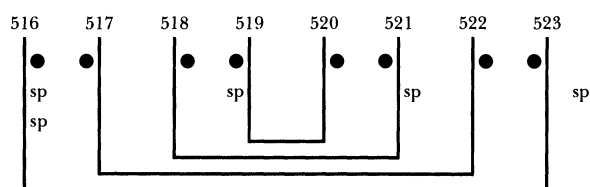
LXVI

Text: Josh. 22:15*–Judg. 1:31 (to Σιδῶνα); Judges begins on folio 512^v.

Miniatures: The spaces correspond with the miniatures in the other Octateuchs in the following manner:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
509	238 (SmyH 311)	466 ^v	235	395 ^v (AthH 118)
510	238 ^v (SmyH 312)	467 ^a	235 ^v	398 (AthH 119)
511	not illus./lacuna	b	236	398 ^a (AthH 120)
511 ^a	not illus./lacuna	468a	236 ^a	b (AthH 121)
b	not illus./lacuna	b	b	399a (AthH 122)
512	not illus./lacuna	c	c	b (AthH 123)
512 ^v	239 (SmyH 313)	469	not illus.	401 ^v (AthH 124)
513 ^a	239 ^a (SmyH 314)	469 ^v	not illus.	402 (AthH 125)
b	b (SmyH 315)			

The sequence of proportions of the spaces in the Seraglio Octateuch accords poorly with that of the finished miniatures in the other manuscripts. The gaps in the cycle of the Smyrna Octateuch here and between folios 244 and 245 suggest a *bifolium* missing from a quire.



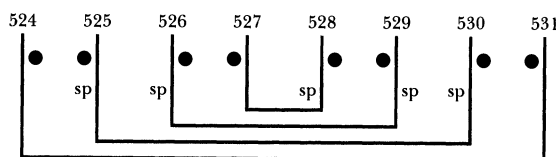
LXVII

Text: Judg. 1:3*–6:9 (to αὐτοῦς).

Miniatures: The spaces correspond with the miniatures in the other Octateuchs in the following manner:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
516a	240 ^a (SmyH 316)	471 ^a	237 ^a	405 ^v (AthH 126)
b	b (SmyH 317)	b	b	406 (AthH 127)
519	242 (SmyH 318)	473 ^v	239	409 (AthH 128)
521 ^v	243 (SmyH 319)	475	240	410 ^v (AthH 129)
				412 (AthH 130)
523	244 (SmyH 320)	477	241	415 ^v (AthH 131)

The sequence of proportions of the spaces in the Seraglio Octateuch accords well with that of the finished miniatures in the other manuscripts.

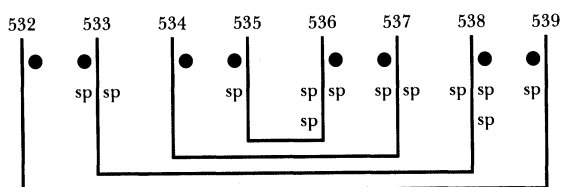


LXVIII

Text: Judg. 6:9*–9:27 (to ἀργόν).

Miniatures: It is difficult to verify the concordance of the miniatures in this quire because of their regular proportions; assuming continuity, the order would run as follows:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
525	244 ^v (SmyH 321)	478	241 ^v	417 (AthH 132)
526	not illus./lacuna	478 ^v	242	418 ^v (AthH 133)
528	245 (SmyH 322)	480 ^v	243	421 ^v (AthH 134)
529 ^v	245 ^a (SmyH 323)	481 ^v	243 ^a	423 ^v (AthH 135)
530	b (SmyH 324)	482	b	424 ^v (AthH 136)



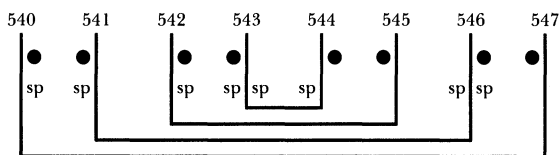
LXIX

Text: Judg. 9:27*–13:21 (to ἀφθῆναι).

Miniatures: Through the first seven spaces, there seems to be agreement with the miniatures in the other manuscripts:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
533	247 (SmyH 325)	484 ^v	245	428 ^v (AthH 137)
533 ^v	247 ^v (SmyH 326)	485	245 ^v	429 ^v (AthH 138)
535	248 ^a (SmyH 327)	485 ^v	246	430 ^v (AthH 139)
536a	b (SmyH 328)	486 ^v	246 ^a	432 (AthH 140)
b	c (SmyH 329)	487a	b	433a (AthH 1)
536 ^v	d (SmyH 330)	b	c	b (AthH 142)
537	not illus./lacuna	488	not illus.	434 ^v (AthH 143)

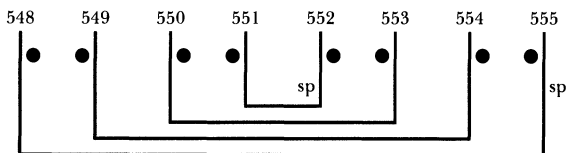
From this point onward, including the spaces in the next gathering, all of which correspond to the scenes from the life of Samson, the manuscripts disagree.



LXX

Text: Judg. 13:21*–18:1 (to ἀντῆ ἕως).

Miniatures: Continuation of the lack of agreement.

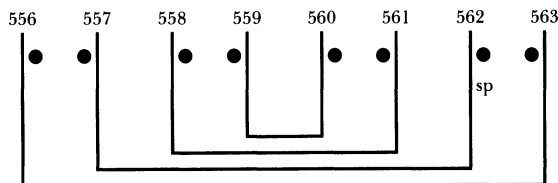


LXXI

Text: Judg. 18:1*–21:4 (to ἐγένετο).

Miniatures: Two spaces which accord with the miniatures in the other manuscripts in the following manner:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
552	255 (SmyH 331)	499	253 ^v	451 (AthH 160)
555	257 (SmyH 332)	501 ^v	255	455 ^v (AthH 161)
				456 (AthH 162)

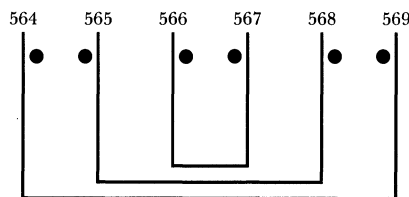


LXXII

Text: Judg. 21:4*–Ruth 3:13 (to πρῶ); Ruth begins on folio 559^v.

Miniatures:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
562	258 ^v (SmyH 333)	504 ^v	256 ^v	460 ^v (AthH 163)



LXXIII

Text: Ruth 3:13*–end on folio 566^v; remainder of the gathering devoted to the following texts: 566^v–567^v, Jo-seppi, *Memoralis libellus* (PG, 106, 125–26); 568, *idem*, On the Seven Exiles of the Jews (PG, 106, 128B-D); 569–569^v, Origen, *In Psalmos* (PG, 12, 1104A-B).

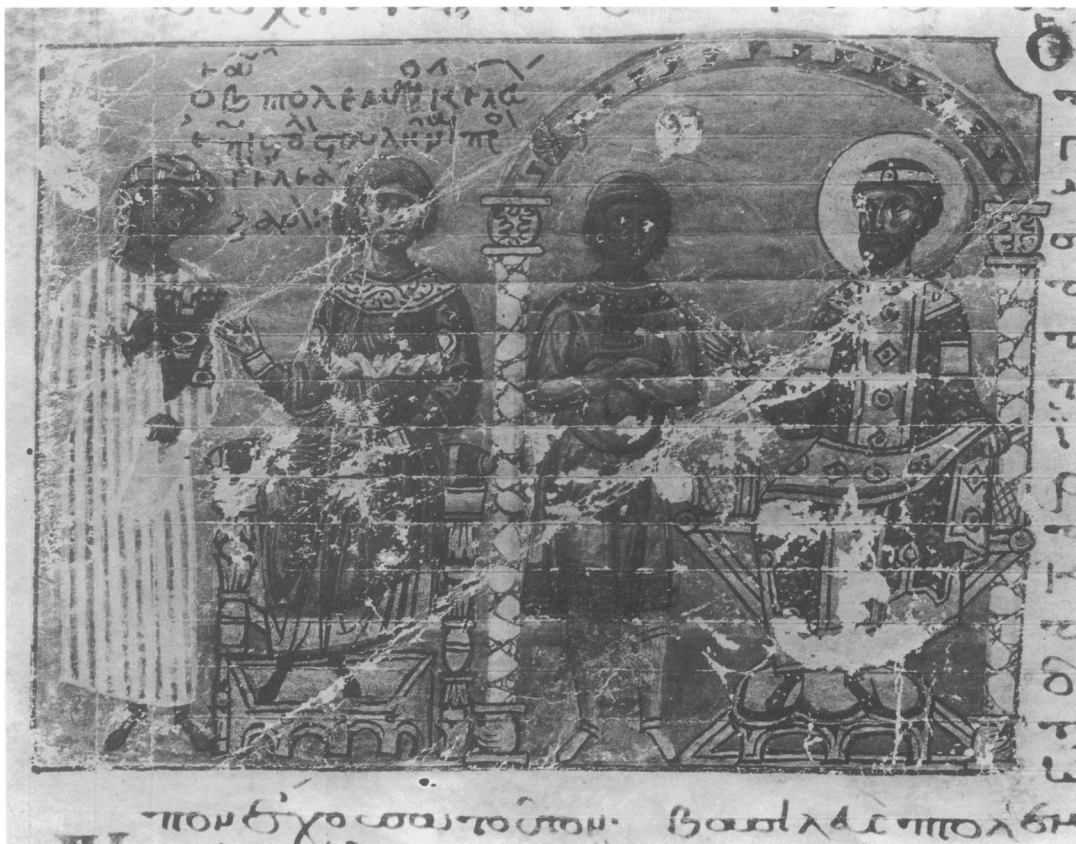
Miniatures:

Seraglio	Smyrna	Vat. gr. 746	Vat. gr. 747	Vatopedi cod. 602
564	260 (SmyH 334)	507 ^v	258	465 (AthH 164)



B

Single leaf of parchment containing no writing.



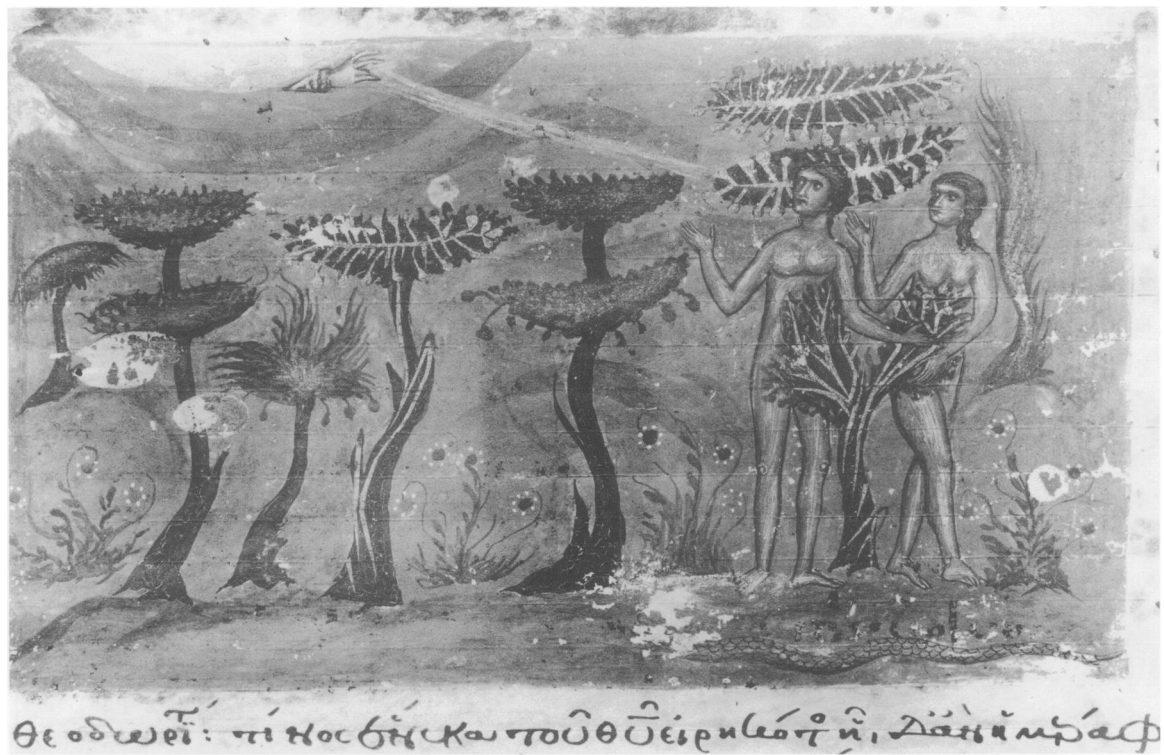
1. Fol. 11v, Demetrius of Phaleron and King Ptolemy



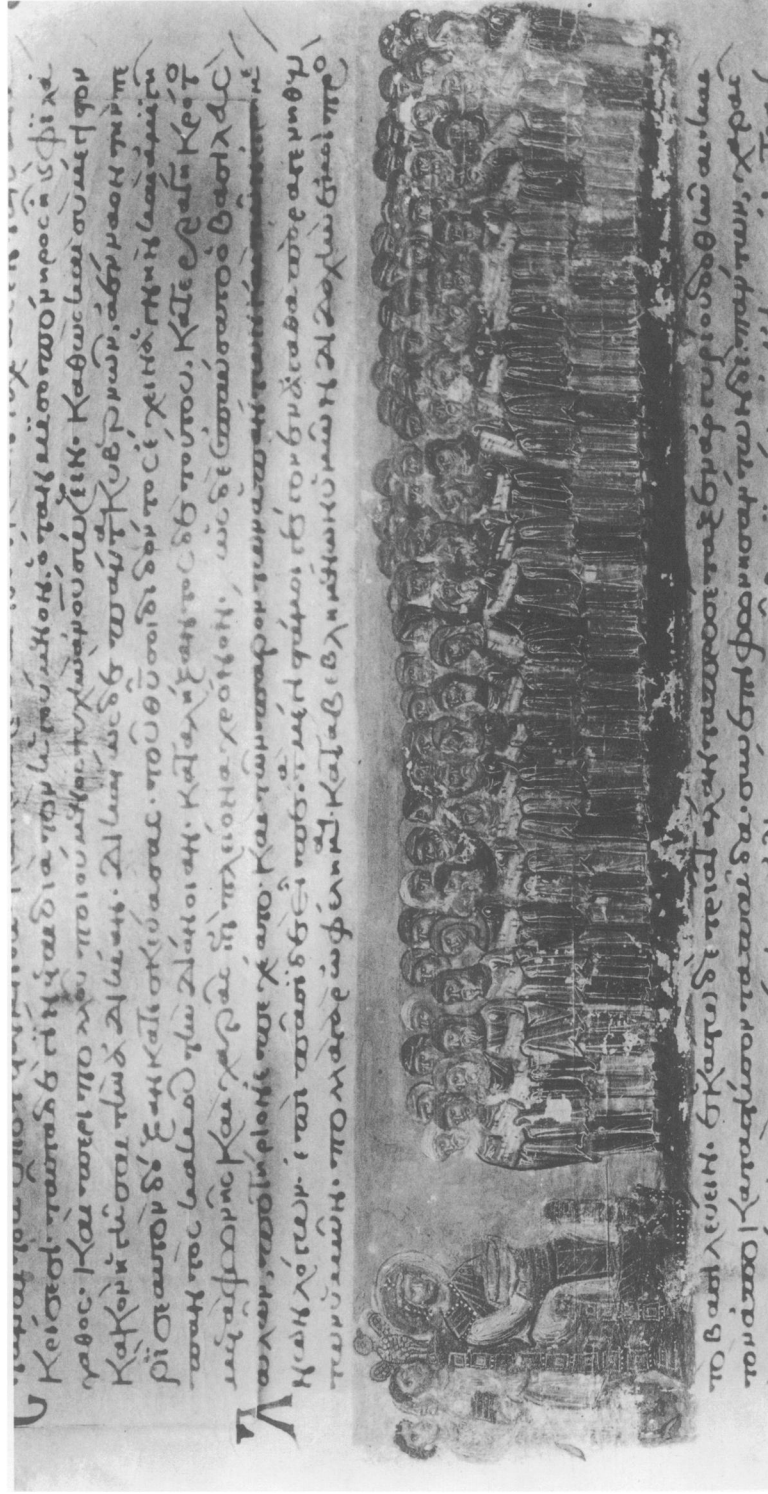
2. Fol. 90v, Abraham's Servant Swears Not to Choose Isaac's Wife from Among the Women of Canaan (Gen. 24:1-9)



3. Fol. 36v, God Breathes Life into Adam (Gen. 2:7)



4. Fol. 47, God Confronts Adam and Eve with Their Disobedience (Gen. 3:8–13)



5. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 21, Translators before King Ptolemy



6. Fol. 68^v, Abraham and His Family Depart Haran for Canaan (Gen. 12:4)



7. Fol. 74^v, God Promises Abraham that His Descendants Will Inhabit the Lands between the Rivers of Egypt and the Euphrates (Gen. 15:18–21)



8. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 136v

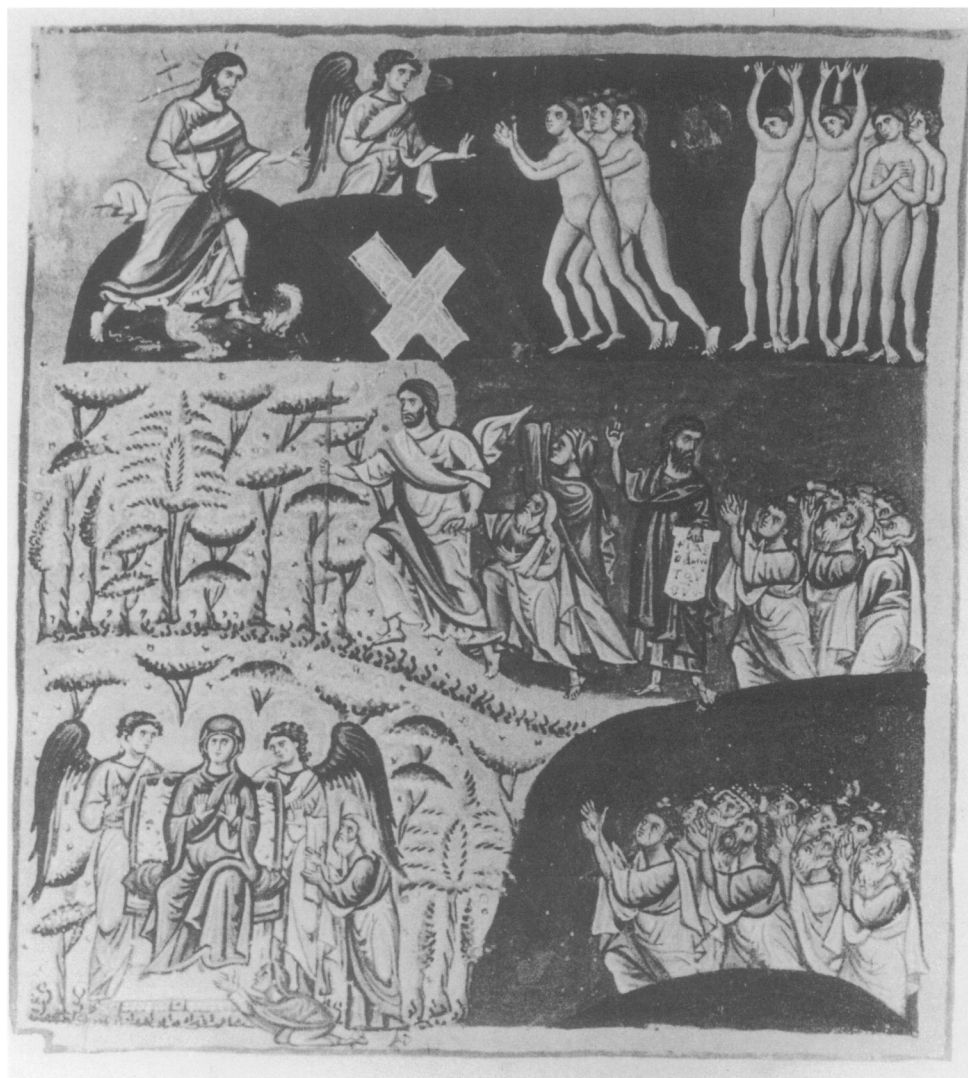


9. Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 746, fol. 130

Joseph's Brothers Fall Down before Him (Gen. 44:14–34);
Joseph Reveals His Identity and Summons His Family to Egypt (Gen. 45:4–15)



10. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 289v, Departure of Jethro (Exod. 18:26–27); Moses Gives God's Orders to the Israelites, then Speaks to God (Exod. 19:7–15)



11. Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 1162, fol. 48v, Christ's Descent into Hell; Adam and Eve before the Virgin's Throne



12. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 139,
Jacob and Joseph before Pharaoh (Gen. 47:7 ff.)



13. Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 1162, fol. 44v,
Anne Takes the Virgin from Her Crib and Presents Her to the Priests



14. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 203



15. Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 746, fol. 198



16. Fol. 84, The Miracle of the Quail and Manna



17. Fol. 57r, Jacob and Joseph before Pharaoh (Gen. 47:7 ff.)

Smyrna, Evangelical School, cod. A.I. (destroyed)



18. Fol. 30v, The Circumcision of the House of Abraham (Gen. 17:22–26)



19. Fol. 52, Potiphar's Wife Attempts to Seduce Joseph (Gen. 39:12)



20. Fol. 17, God Condemns Cain (Gen. 4:9 ff.); Birth of Enoch (Gen. 4:17)



21. Fol. 220v, Joshua Sends Out Two Spies; the Spies Received by Rahab (Josh. 2:1)



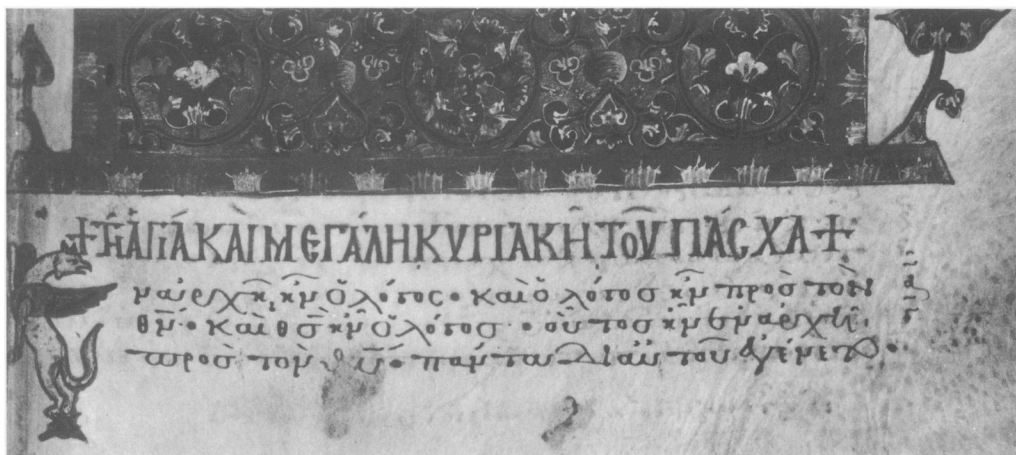
22. Fol. 59^v, Noah Curses Canaan, and Blesses Shem and Japheth (Gen. 9:24–27); Death of Noah (Gen. 9:29)



23. Fol. 54, The Ark Floats on the Flood Waters (Gen. 7:18 ff.); Noah Despatches the Raven (Gen. 8:6–7)



24. Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 746, fol. 283, The Healing of the Leper (Lev. 14:1-7)



25. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 71, fol. 150, John 1:1-3a



26. Fol. 160, Moses' Staff Turns into A Serpent (Exod. 4:1-3)



27. Fol. 161, Moses Takes Leave of Jethro (Exod. 4:18)



28. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 167, Repetition of Compositions of Miniatures on fols. 160 and 161^v (figs. 26 and 27)

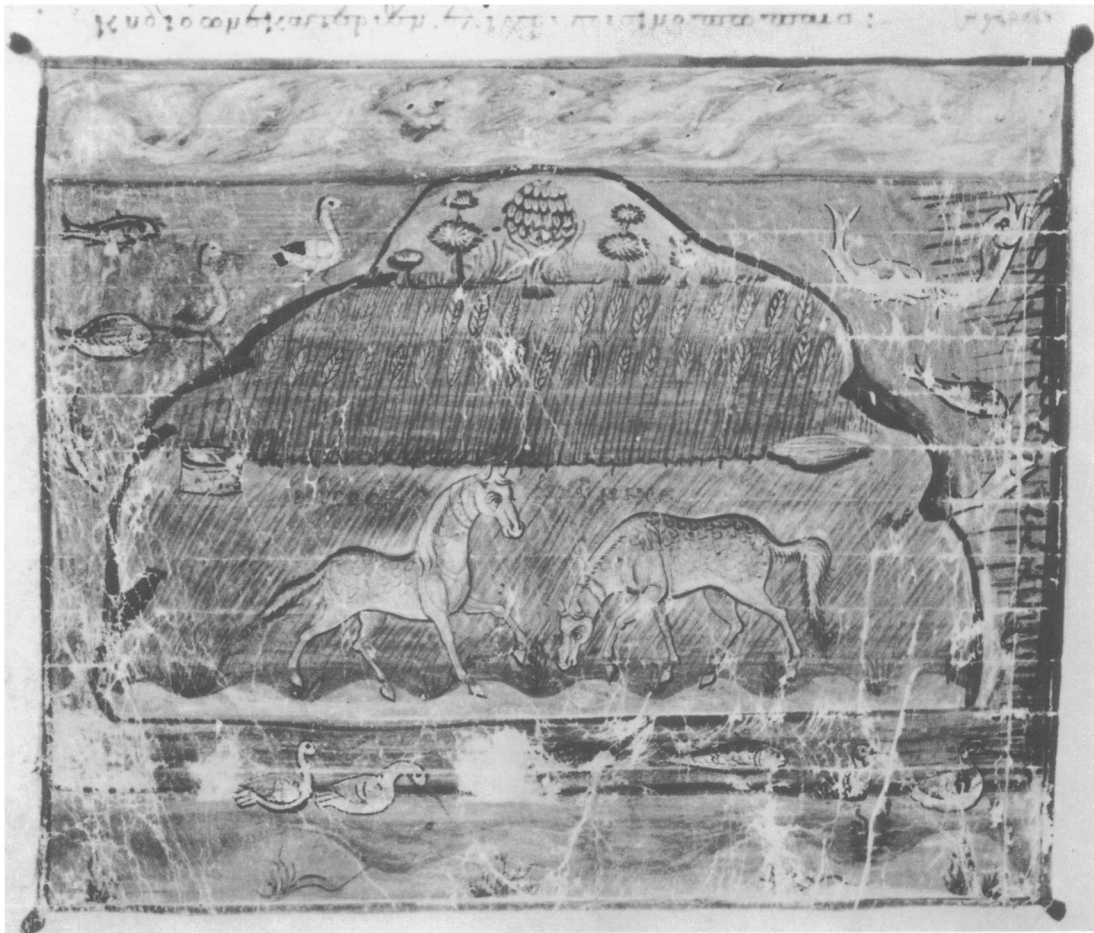


29. Fol. 85, Aaron Deposits the Manna in Cantharus (Exod. 16:33); Moses Prays (Exod. 17:4)



30. Fol. 85v, Moses Strikes the Rock at Horeb (Exod. 17:6)





35. Fol. 11, The Orynx (*Cyn. I:316–25*)



36. Fol. 13^v, Laconian Woman with Depictions of Ancient Heroes (*Cyn. I:358–68*)



37. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, cod. 8, fol. 542, Judg. 14:17b-15:4a